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CEREMONIAL UTENSILS FROM KOLLUR

Moti Chandra

Among the important possessions of Indian temples are the numerous ceremonial utensils, lamps, bells, water-pots, incense burners, etc. which are used in the *pūjā* ceremony. Unfortunately, though the metal images installed in the temples have received attention, no detailed study has yet been made of temple utensils, which are often of real artistic interest. This may have been due to the paucity of really old material and difficulty of access to such objects as are known. Thurston¹ and others in their important work have only illustrated modern examples. From time to time, however, old ceremonial objects have been discovered, the more recent examples being an incense burner with an elegant lotus-shaped receptacle from Akota² and some ritual objects from Ratnagiri³ in Orissa. A very important hoard of temple accessories was discovered at Kollur and is now in Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. The hoard was found in 1924 in a cave near the temple of Śrī Kumāreśvara at Kollur, a village in Bilgi Peth of Bijapur District. Subsequently, on the recommendation of the then Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, it was acquired by the Museum.

Mr. G. C. Chandra's preliminary report accompanying the Government Resolution acquiring the hoard makes an interesting reading:

"The find of the treasure trove from Kollur was made in a cave by one Sagareppa Rudrappa Patil when digging some pits to the left of Śrī Kumāreśvara Temple on the 10th October 1923 for planting "Belapatri" trees. As soon as he came upon the treasure, he reported the matter to the police and the whole of the hoard was thereupon sent for inspection to the office of the Mamlatdar, Bagalkot, where it is still lying. On inspection, I find, as will be apparent from two photographs of the objects enclosed herewith, that the treasure comprises seven *pākāpātras* (cooking vessels), seven *sthālis* (dishes), one cauldron, three tripods, one ladle, eleven waterpots with and without handles, eight single and double *kamaṇḍalus* (jug with spouts), one *pushpapātra* (flower tray on stand), two censers, five *āratis* (waving light before an image), two *arghapātras* (ladles used in worship), five *dīpavrikshas* (lamps on stand) one hanging lamp. . . . The objects figured in the lot appear to be pretty old and are all meant to be used in one or other function performed in a temple and are made of copper, bronze and bell metal. But the most interesting thing of

¹ Edgar Thurston, Velayuda Asari, and W. S. Hadaway, *Illustrations of Metal Work in Bronze and Copper mostly South Indian*, Madras, 1913.

² U. P. Shah, *Akota Bronzes*, Bombay, 1959, p. 43, Fig. 47a.

³ *Indian Archaeology 1958-59-a Review*, Pl. XLVII, c.

the lot is a *kamaṇḍalu* with five hollow ribs connected with each other by contrivances at the top and bottom so that water poured from above would be equally distributed in all the five ribs and come out through one common spout; two double *kamaṇḍalus* in which the spout appears only in one as both the *kamaṇḍalus* are joined together by a central piece to convey water from one to the other and can still be seen in one of them; and two censers one of them having a perforated adjustable conical lid and the other with a detached lid which can be fitted on to the rim and stands to rings in opposite directions for holding up the same."

While studying the Kollur hoard afresh more information about the village Kollur and the temple of Kumāreśvara, was kindly supplied to us by Dr. M. Sheshadri, Director of Archaeology, Mysore State, through Dr. P. M. Joshi, Director of Archives and Historical Monuments, Maharashtra State and Dr. P. B. Desai, Director, Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar. Dr. Sheshadri's information runs as follows :

"Kollur is a small village now in Bilgi Taluka which was formerly a Petha in Bagalkot Taluka, and is about 28 miles from Bilgi, the Taluka headquarters. To the west of this village is the temple of Kumāreśvara (Fig. 1a) within a *prākāra* enclosure. The temple which consists of a *garbhagriha*, a *sukhanāsi*, a *navaraṅga* and an open *mukhamanḍapa* with porches on the three sides is comparatively a plain structure. Only the outer walls of the *garbhagriha* are intact upto the eaves and slightly indented in plan and leave deep niches at the centres. The outer wall of the *navaraṅga* are straight and have been rebuilt. The central pillars of the *mukhamanḍapa* (Fig. 1b) and *navaraṅga* have cubical, sixteen sides or fluted and disc mouldings as in the plain Chālukyan temples. From an inscription on one of the pillars in the *mukhamanḍapa* it may be gathered that the temple was in existence before 1307 A.D., to which time the record belongs. From this inscription it can also be noted that the god who is now locally known as Kumāreśvara had the name of Guṇḍanātha. This also accounts for another local name of the temple viz., Guṇḍappa's temple. The inscription does not mention anything regarding the construction of the temple but mentions only the renewal of an old grant made to it. It is therefore possible that the temple was built in about the 13th century A.D. during the reign of the Yādavas.

"The ceilings of the temple are also plain except for the central ceiling of the *mukhamanḍapa* and the *navaraṅga* which have *padma* medallion. The eaves of the parapet and the tower over the *garbhagriha* have been built at a later date.

"Only the *navaraṅga* and *sukhanāsi* doorway have plasters and scroll bands on the jambs and turrets over the lintel while the *garbhagriha* doorway is very plain."

Dr. P. B. Desai kindly supplied us further information about the content of the Kumāreśvara inscription. According to him it belongs to the reign of the Yādava ruler Rāmachandra Deva and is dated to 1307 A.D. The grant records a gift of land to the god Guṇḍanātha at Biduva for milk offerings by a person named Kañcharasa. It appears from this that the ancient name of Kollur was Biduva (which is rather strange).

The Kollur temple and its inscription raise two important points, the first being the fate of the temple after 1307 when the hordes of Malik Kāfūr were plundering the temples in the Yādava dominion, and its subsequent history under the Bahmanīs and the Sultāns of Bijapur, and secondly, whether the temple utensils secreted in a cave indicated some impending calamity which necessitated the removal of the sacred temple utensils to a place of safety. That the temple continued to receive gift by the early years of the 14th century and attracted pilgrims from Tamil Nad and Āndhradeśa is clear from two short inscriptions found on a tripod (Figs. 4a and b) and on an *ārati* (Fig. 8a) respectively deciphered by the officers of Dr. G. S. Gai, Government Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India. The Tamil inscription on the tripod reads as follows :

Viśanādā-devakku Perumāṇḍināyakka(r) iṭṭa kāl iḍai 55

Perumāṇḍi-nāyakkar donates a (lamp) stand weighing 55 (palams) to god Viśa(śva)nāthadeva.

The Telugu inscription on the *ārati* reads as follows :

Śrī-Vīresva(śva)ra-devaraku; i.e. to the god Śrī Vīreśvaradeva.

It is apparent from the above inscriptions that Kumāreśvara was a renowned temple which attracted visitors from distant places and further the god had no fixed appellation. Besides Guṇḍanātha, he seems to have been also known as Viśvanātha and Vīreśvara, both being the synonyms of Śiva.

The close stylistic resemblances between the utensils, and also the figures decorating the lamps and the tripods indicate that the objects belong to one period, namely the early years of the 14th century when they were removed to a secret place to save them against an impending danger. That this date is not improbable is further supported by the fact that the stems of some lamps (Fig. 6c) exactly follow the pattern of the pillars in the Kumāreśvara temple. Even the figures appearing on the lamps show the continuity of the late Chālukyan tradition. One could, however, never be certain about the dating. If the temple continued to exist during the Bahmanī and the Sultanate period there remains the possibility of the earlier material being mixed up with the later one.

Apart from the historical and ritualistic interest of the Kollur temple utensils and lamps, their aesthetic significance is also not negligible. The

141. Bronze lamp. Ht. 84 cms. (Figs. 6a and b).

The gadrooned stem has two trays; one at the top and the second in the middle. The top tray is mounted with a finial-shaped moulded ornament. At the bottom stands a devotee with folded hands.

186. Bronze lamp. Ht. 143 cms.

Same as 141, except that it has three trays to carry lamps; circular base.

140. Bronze lamp. Ht. 64 cms.

Pillar-shaped stem; top and bottom rectangular in section; middle portion round; circular pedestal.

185. Bronze lamp. Ht. 100 cms.

Same as No. 140, except that it has three trays to carry the wicks; circular base.

65. Lamp. Ht. 61 cms.

The top of the stem is moulded, the middle and bottom are square in parts. At the top is a recessed pedestal mounted with a heart-shaped wick holder; square pedestal.

66. Lamp. Ht. 76 cms. (Fig. 6c).

Very elaborately worked example. The stem is partly rectangular and partly gadrooned and moulded. At the top is a recessed pedestal mounted with four finials and heart-shaped ornaments. It is decorated with open work fringe. From this pedestal comes out a heart shaped bracketed wick-holder. This pattern is also repeated below. Square pedestal.

- 149-215-217. Lamp (*ārati*). Ht. 11 cms. (Figs. 7a and b).

On rectangular stand with recessed base decorated with lotus petals stand three *Dīpalakshmis* holding trays with lamp receptacles. The recurved handle shaped like a conventionalised lotus rhizome ends in rosette-shaped terminal.

146. Lamp (*ārati*). Ht. 20 cms. (Fig. 8a).

The tall stem is mounted with gadrooned finial. To the bell-shaped pedestal is attached a lotus stalk-shaped handle ending in a circular boss. The handle is simple in form; twenty receptacles for wicks. There is a short Telugu inscription on the circular base of the handle.

205. Lamp (*ārati*). Ht. 26.5 cms.

The tall stem is mounted with gadrooned finial. To the bell-shaped pedestal is attached the dragon-shaped handle ending in a circular boss. Thirteen receptacles for wicks.

206. Lamp. Ht. 14 cms.

Rosette-shaped lamp-holder consisting of nine receptacles for wicks; *surāhi*-shaped finial; bell-shaped base.

148-157-156. Lamp. Ht. 16 cms.

Same as 206. The receptacles are separated by pellets.

211. Circular lamp. Ht. 4 cms., diameter 10.7 cms.

Four projections ornamented with buds and leaves.

207. Chain lamp. Ht. of lamp 14 cms., length of the chain 220 cms. (Fig. 8b).

Bell-shaped base. In the centre is a finial like projection with a ring top. There are four projecting receptacles for wicks.

208. Lamp. Ht. 14.8 cms., diameter at the base 12.8 cms. (Fig. 9a).

Circular in shape with a tapering central stand surmounted with the figure of a peacock; ring to hold the chain; circular grooved base.

171. Bell. Ht. 31.8 cms. (Fig. 9b).

The bell is surmounted with a trident; tall moulded neck.

170. Bell. Ht. 30 cms.

Same as No. 171.

147. Incense burner. Ht. 24.6 cms. (Fig. 9c).

The incense burner with perforated lid mounted with finial; the receptacle has three triangular projections; bell-shaped base; the recurved handle is lotus stalk-shaped.

150. Flower stand. Ht. 23.6 cms. (Fig. 10a).

Circular bowl with flaring channelled lip; ringed; bell-shaped grooved base.

173. Flower tray. Ht. 12 cms., diameter 36 cms. (Fig. 10b).

The tray is punched with triangles and is also ringed. It stands on grooved bell-shaped base.

193. Gong. Ht. 8.5 cms., diameter 30.2 cms.

Bowl-shaped with a ring handle.

195. Lid. Diameter 29.3 cms.

Circular lid with perforated centre decorated with the figure of a stylized bird.

Note:—Figs. 3b, 4a, 5a, 6a, 8a, 9c and 9b may be compared with Fig. 50 Pl. XVIII, Figs. 81 and 82 Pl. XX, Fig. 114 Pl. XXII, Fig. 67 Pl. XIX and Fig. 110 Pl. XXII of Coomaraswamy's *Memoirs of Colombo Museum Series A*. No. 1, 1914. Coomaraswamy ascribes the utensils mostly to 10th—13th century.

JEWELLERY MOULDS IN ANCIENT INDIA

Moti Chandra and Parmeshwari Lal Gupta

Gold has been a perennial attraction for the Indian people. On account of its rarity gold became the symbol of prestige and power and it was the only metal about whose exchange value nobody raised any fuss. Being the symbol of power and wealth, the rulers, their officers, the merchants and traders not only stored gold as a visible sign of their opulence but also used it for making jewellery, ornamenting the furniture and drawing the wire for making glittering brocades.

As early as 2500 B.C. the people of the Indus Valley used gold for making jewellery, which consisted of gold bracelets, gold beads from Mohenjodaro¹ and Harappa², brooches, pendants, conical head ornaments, finger rings, necklaces etc., and minute gold beads smaller than a pin head from Lothal³. Gold at Mohenjodaro and Harappa was obtained probably from the South.

In Vedic literature the value of gold is fully realised. Along with the cattle it became a symbol of power and wealth. Not only the rulers and traders coveted gold but the priests were also not averse to it. In Vedic literature *hiranya* denotes gold. It was extracted from the gold-bearing earth or sand and washed. Perhaps gold was also found in nuggets (*piṇḍa*). It is sometimes called *harita* (yellowish) and sometime *rajata* (whitish)⁴. In the latter case probably gold from South India which is an alloy of silver is meant. Gold is also referred to as *chandra*⁵ and *jātarūpa*⁶.

The *pipilika* gold of the *Mahābhārata*, ii, 48, 3, brought as a present to Yudhisṭhira by the Central Asian tribes recalls to mind the ant-gold of Hero, dotus, Megasthenes, Pliny and Aelian. Its source is variously placed in Kashmir-Afghanistan and the eastern border of Dardistan. As its description in the *Mahābhārata* implies it was gold dust. Some scholars take it to be the Tibetan gold obtained by the gold-washers from the sources of the Indus, while Barthold Laufer thinks it to be the Siberian gold brought to India by the Mongols. That this import of gold from Central Asia or Tibet continued for a very long time is supported by a reference in the Jain *Āvaśyakachūṛṇi* where it is said that the Tangaṇas from Northern India (Garhwal) brought gold and ivory to the Deccan and bartered them for other goods. The *Nishitha-chūṛṇi* mentions gold obtained from the mines by separating the gold veins from stone blocks and also from gold dust obtained by washing the river sand. The same source further

¹ Marshall J. O. *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization*, II, London, 1931, p. 522.

² Vats, M. S., *Excavations at Harappa*, I, Delhi, 1940, pp. 432 ff.

³ Rao, S. R., *The Excavations at Lothal*, Lalit Kalā Nos. 3-4 (April 1956—March 1957), p. 87.

⁴ Macdonell, A. A. and Keith, A. B., *Vedic Index*, II, Delhi, 1958, pp. 504-05.

⁵ Macdonell, A. A., and Keith, A. B., *Vedic Index*, I, Delhi, 1958, p. 254.

⁶ *Ib.*, I, p. 281.

informs us that metals like gold, silver, copper and tins were used for making coins and ornaments or merely remained in the form of cakes (*chakkala*) and balls (*piṇḍa*).

Unfortunately, the source of gold in the Mauryan period are uncertain owing to the difficulty of interpreting the denominations of gold in the *Arthaśāstra*. The sources of *jambūnada*, *śātakumbha* and *śrīṅgauktija* are not known. The *vaiṇava* gold probably came from the Mt. Veṇu, perhaps the homeland of the Dirghaveṇus, one of the Central Asian peoples who brought *pīḍilika* gold to Yudhiṣṭhira (M.B., ii 48-3). *Hāṭaka*, one of the synonyms for gold, came from Tibet as the name Hāṭa stood for Western Tibet⁷. In the early centuries of the Christian era the Roman gold poured into the port of Barygaza (*Periplus*, 49) and Muziris (*Periplus*, 56). The Arabian gold was imported from Omman (*Periplus*, 36). The *Periplus* (63) also refers to gold mines in the vicinity of Bengal, perhaps referring to the alluvial gold from Chota Nagpur, Assam and Tipperah. Gold washing from the rivers seem to have been a regular profession in ancient India. The *Mahāvastu*, ii-173 mentions the guild of gold-washers (*suvarṇadhovaka*). At a much later period the *Jaina Rājatarāṅgī* of Jonarāja (ss. 1169-70) mentions that Zain-al Ābedin (1420-1470 A.D.) the ruler of Kashmir, issued an order that those who washed gold from the river sand had to pay one sixth of the gold washed by them as a tax to the state.

Unfortunately, though gold played such an important part in Indian economy and personal decoration, very little gold by the way of coins and jewellery has come down to us, considering the extent of the country and our long tradition of culture. This may partly be due to the Indian funeral custom which enjoins burning of the dead body, thus eschewing the grave furniture, which in other lands has yielded rich jewellery and other objects of art. The scarcity of gold may also be due to systematic denudation of gold by the rulers and the wasteful social habits of the people.

Whatsoever may be the cause of the rarity of the finds of gold jewellery from archaeological sites, Indian literature is full of references to various types of jewellery and the high artistry of the craftsmanship. However, Sanskrit, Pāli and Prākṛit literatures hardly refer to technical details of a goldsmith's profession. The *Mahāvastu*, ii, 470 while describing the professional attainments of a master goldsmith (*suvarṇakāra-mahattara*) mentions some of the outstanding features of his craftsmanship. It is, however, difficult to interpret the technical import of the words used. *Udarāṇi* may mean the process of embossing; *kalayāṇāni* may stand for making auspicious symbols; *sukṛitāni* are obviously ornaments with beautiful patterns; *sunishkṛitāni* may indicate the great excellence of workmanship; *punirvāpantāni* may mean the art of chiselling and polishing; *sunirvāntamalakashāyāni* may stand for an expert melter and purifier of gold; *mṛidunīkarmanīyāni* (?) indicate the art of making intricate

⁷ *The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, XVI, 1954, pp. 9-10.

designs and finally *prabhāśvarāṇi* may indicate the technique of polishing and burnishing.

Kshemendra (11th cent.) in chapter viii of the *Kalā-vilāsa* gives some interesting details about the processes and implements employed by goldsmiths. They used hard and soft touch-stones to test the quality of gold and also to dupe the customer (4). Their stone-weights (*tulotpala*) oily, sweaty, waxy, sandy and hot were apparently meant for false weighing (5). The crucibles (*mūshā*) again in the hand of the dishonest were double sided (*dvipuṭā*), liable to break after absorbing gold (*suvarṇarasapāyini*) or enabled the dishonest to mix surreptitiously with it copper, lead, etc. (6). Dishonest goldsmiths also manipulated the scales by making them crooked, uneven, hollow, soft, knotted and heavy. Mercury was used to make the pans heavier; they had also cut edges. Weighing in heavy wind allowed the dust to accumulate in the pans to falsify the weight (7-8). Even the nature of the goldsmith's fire did not escape the observant eyes of Kshemendra. The flames were ringed, smoky, crackling and slow. Dishonest goldsmiths intentionally put copper powder in it in order to mix it with the molten gold (10). Goldsmith's special technique for imparting a false shine to ornaments is also indicated. For this purpose he put salt and soda in a slow cowdung fire and heated the ornaments in it (13). Another method of cheating the customer was to secrete particles of gold in repoussé ornaments which were to be provided with the lac cores so that the gold particles could be easily removed at the time of providing the lac cores (15). *Ujjavalana* is the process of polishing or burnishing, while *āsmakalā* is apparently the process of fixing gold plate on the stone mould to obtain the required design in repousse after beating it into the required design (16).

The technical process involved in jewellery-making in India however has remained basically unchanged even till the recent times. The source of heat of a goldsmith is an open charcoal fire; the blow-pipe and bellows are used to make a forced draught to raise the temperature. The object to be treated is placed over the fire in a clay crucible. The principal tools used in ornament-making are an anvil of stone or metal, hammers for beating the sheet metal, punches of different shapes and sizes, stamps and cores, moulds for casting, matrixes for shaping, chisels, engraving tools, tongs, files, scales, and crucibles of clay.

The metal sheet is obtained by putting an ingot on an anvil and hammering it hard. Whenever the metal becomes hard and brittle the goldsmith anneals it by raising it to a red heat and dipping it in water. In this way the particles of metal distorted by hammering rearrange themselves, and it again becomes soft and workable. For making wire draw-plates are used.

But out of the goldsmiths' implements in ancient India only moulds and matrixes have survived. The excavations at Taxila have brought to light small moulds and matrixes made of clay stone, limestone, slate, steatite, grey stone,

grey schist and micaceous schist. These small moulds were made for casting metal ornaments from the fifth century B.C. onwards. The earliest mould of two pendent beads cut from grey slate comes from the Bhir mound, the rest come from the Sirkap site. Ten of them were for making pendants, finger rings and other small ornaments, while two were for making small metal pieces—dots, commas, crescents, lozenges, etc., required for inlay work.⁸

In the words of Marshall, "The stone moulds found from Taxila are of two types, viz. for the production of solid or hollow pieces of jewellery. For casting the solid ornaments the closed mould was made of more than one piece which fitted together and was provided with a channel cut in the stone for pouring the molten metal. The other type was an open mould of one piece only and without any channel. This latter type was used chiefly for taking an impression on a thin sheet of gold or silver by pressing it into the cavities of the design—the work being subsequently finished off by hand with the help of punches and gravers." But the moulds of this type as pointed out by Marshall might have been used for casting the copper dies for gold work. An inherent disadvantage of the "impression" mould is that the thinnest sheet metal could be used for pressing into the cavities of the stone, and the resulting jewellery mould be of the flimsiest kind, unless a very small piece is provided with a core of lac, mastic, sulphur or other such substances to strengthen it. To overcome this difficulty the jewellers of Taxila had taken recourse to copper or bronze dies on which heavier gold or silver sheeting could be hammered out.⁹

Similar steatite moulds (Fig. 11) of closed and open types were found by Cunningham at Kauśāmbī and Sankisā and are now in the British Museum. They are still unpublished and are being described for the first time in Appendix A by the courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum and Mr. Douglas Barrett. At least six of the moulds are of closed type with grooved channels for pouring the molten metal; the rest are of open type. The design consists of barley-pattern, diaperd circles, pendants, *nāṇḍipada*, crescent, *sisphūla*, beads, etc. There is no means to determine the date of the British Museum moulds but they seem to belong to the second or first century B.C.

P. L. Gupta has, however, recently discovered two open type moulds which are of unusual interest. The first one (Appendix B) was in the possession of the widow of the late Dr. W. Vost, a distinguished member of the Indian Medical Service, who was employed in Uttara Pradesh. At the request of Gupta Mrs. Vost presented the mould (Fig. 12a) to the Prince of Wales Museum. It is a rectangular granite block with cavities containing the patterns which are flowers, rosettes, a double-headed eagle, head ornaments and the figure of a Yaksha. On the basis of the figure of Yaksha which is very near in

⁸ Marshall, J., *Taxila*, II, Cambridge, 1951, pp. 506-07.

⁹ Marshall, *loc. cit.* II, p. 617.

form to similar figures from Mathura the mould may be dated to the second century A.D. The find-spot of the mould is not known, though there is every likelihood that it came either from Kauśāmbī or Sankisā.

Another very interesting mould (Appendix C) is in the collection of the Museum of the Sanskrit University, Varanasi. It (Fig. 15a) was found by Sri K. N. Sukul, retired Deputy Director of Education, Uttar Pradesh from Sankisā. Its six sides are decorated with very interesting figures of goddesses forming part of a decorative motif, rosettes, crescent, courses of lotus petals etc. There is no doubt that the mould belongs to the early centuries of the Christian era.

The use of open moulds, stamps and dies was not merely confined to making jewellery. Its use for inlay work and figures with religious significance is supported by the designs on the moulds described above. This dual function of the moulds — secular and religious — is further supported by the jewellery and figures which have come down to us.

The earliest gold jewellery of the historical period that has come from the Piprahwā Stūpa in the Basti District, Uttar Pradesh is datable to the 3rd century B.C. The relic contained gold ornaments including beads, the figure of a goddess, her upper part of the body being nude and the lower part clothed, the figure of an elephant stamped on a gold leaf, several gold pieces stamped with the figure of *nāndīpāda* and triscalis and several pieces marked with Swastik, and finally some stars and flowers.¹⁰

In the excavations of Lauriya Nandangarh Dr. Bloch found from one of the older *stūpas* the gold figure of a nude standing female deity, almost of the same type as found from Piprahwā Stūpa. The deity was identified by Bloch as the Vedic Earth Goddess¹¹ with funerary connotation.¹² As remarked by Mazumdar the association of the Mother Goddess cult with a Buddhist monument is difficult to explain as such a practice is not supported by Buddhist texts, but it is equally true that Buddhism could never propagate itself without the help of popular cult. A silver ring inlaid with two gold foils in one of which the female figure of the deity in repoussé found by Mazumdar from Lauriya Nandangarh supports further the prevalence of Mother Goddess cult in Bihar in the Maurya period. There are other evidences such as stone discs with the figures of the Mother Goddess of the Maurya and Śunga period found from the sites ranging from Taxila to Pataliputra¹³ which show that the Mother Goddess cult was firmly established in India. The presence of the Mother Goddess in Buddhism only shows an eclectic tendency of early Buddhism which in order to spread its message among the masses was forced to temporise with popular cults.

¹⁰ Peppe, W. C. and Smith, V. A., *The Piprahwā Stupa, containing relics of Buddha*, JRAS, 1898, pp. 574.

¹¹ ASI, Ann. Rep. 1906-07, p. 122, Fig. 4.

¹² Banerjea, J. N., *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, 2nd ed., Calcutta, 1956, pp. 170-173.

¹³ ASI, Ann. Rep. 1936-37, p. 50, Pl. XXIV, 5.

The so-called Śiva-Pārvatī plaque from Pāṭaliputra, which as a matter of fact is a *mithuna* motif, represents a man wearing a heavy turban of Bharhut type, ornaments and a chequered *dhōṭī* and a woman wearing ornaments and a *sārī* is dated by Jayaswal¹⁴ to the Maurya period, but on stylistic ground it would be more correct to date it to the 2nd century B.C. or even later.

The excavations at Taxila have proved that female figures in gold repoussé work were not confined to U.P. and Bihar only. Three figures, two of Aphrodite or Psyche and one each of Eros and Psyche from Taxila are interesting examples of Gandhāran art.¹⁵

Mention may also be made of the gold repoussé figure of a Yaksha (Appendix D) and a pair of couchant bulls which have a votive significance discovered from the excavations of Vaiśālī.¹⁶ The Vaiśālī gold Yaksha figure bears resemblance with the Yaksha figure in the Prince of Wales Museum mould.

The gold repoussé figure of a female deity (Fig. 16c) probably Lakshmi has been found as a part of the treasure trove from the town of Sultan Ganj in Bhagalpur District of Bihar. The other ornaments with the figure are two pendants, one made of a Kushāṇa coin and the other of a coin of Chandragupta II (lotus on reverse). The figure is ovaloid in shape, edged with lozenge borders. The goddess wears a patterned *sārī* tied in elaborate folds and an *oḍhnī* passing on both shoulders. Her wavy hair is decorated with rosettes and she wears circular earrings, a necklace, armlets, bracelets, the zone and anklets. The right hand is on the waist and she holds a lotus in the left hand. Her legs are crossed while she is stepping forward. A very similar pose is seen in a Gupta sculpture in the National Museum.¹⁷

The importance of the moulds described above is not only from the point of view of religion only but also from the point of view patterns used in jewellery and furniture inlay. Among the simple articles of jewellery are naturally the beads, pendants, crescents and earrings and lotus-petal courses. It is possible that the rosettes and flowered panels were used either as ornaments or as furniture inlay. The cabled strips and the lotus-petal courses were used for fringing the jewellery. The double-headed eagle seems to have been meant for a turban plaque. The pine-cone-shaped ornament apparently represents one half of an ear ornament, the *kāṇ* of modern times. A simpler type described in Appendix C has been found from Vaiśālī. The *nāṇḍīpāda* or taurine besides appearing on coins and sculptures as a symbol appears as an ornament in Bharhut bas-reliefs.¹⁸

¹⁴ K. P. Jayaswal, *Pāṭaliputra Śiva-Pārvatī Gold Plaque*, JISOA, II, No. 2 (June 1934), p. 1.

¹⁵ Marshall, J., *Taxila*, II, p. 632; III, Pl. 191, Nos. 96-98.

¹⁶ *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1958-59, Pl. X B.

¹⁷ *Album of Indian Art Exhibition*, New Delhi, 1948, Pl. 12.

¹⁸ Cunningham, *Stupa of Bharhut*, London, 1879.

The double-headed eagle motif however, is of greater interest as it is of a very rare occurrence except in the Vijayanagar coins of much later date. It appears on the Stūpa in front of the House IF at Sirkap Taxila. It is a very ancient motif appearing in the Hittite and Babylonian arts.¹⁹ It appears to have been associated with the Scythians who might have introduced it at Taxila. The eagle or *suparna* however, begins appearing in Indian art from Sanchi onwards. It is shown at Sanchi as devouring a snake.²⁰ At Taxila it appears at each corner of a bowl.²¹ Garuḍa or eagle with a floriated tail and carrying a snake on its back appears in the sculptures of Mathura.²² Garuḍa front view and three-quarter profile forms an important decorative motif in the Begram ivories.²³

The woman-and-lion-rider motif in the Varanasi Sanskrit University mould is interesting for its various constituents. The lady holding the ear ornaments here could be identified with the Goddess Śrī-Lakṣmī touching her earring.²⁴ The woman riding a snake-tailed lion could be compared with a similar figure in a Mathura sculpture.²⁵

APPENDIX A.

Moulds from Sankisā and Kauśāmbī discovered by Alexander Cunningham now in the collections of the British Museum. (Fig. 11).

A. Closed type moulds for casting double rows of globular beads.

1. Irregular rectangular shape with a channel for pouring the molten metal (Fig. 11, No.1). 2.3 × 5 cms.
2. Two *Nāndīpadas*. Rectangular mould with a channel, bifurcated at the lower end to reach the molten metal to either of the *Nāndīpadas* which are barred. (Fig. 11, No.2). 2.2 × 4.6 cms.
3. Locket or pendent. Irregular rectangular mould; leaf-shaped pendent decorated with parallel lines and dots; a cross at the tip. (Fig. 11, No.7). 1.5 × 2.1 cms.
4. Figure of a lion. Rectangular mould rounded at the corners; figure of the lion in an oval cavity; channel at the top.²⁶ (Fig. 11, No.8). 1.6 × 2.1 cms.

¹⁹ Marshall, *Taxila*, I, p. 164.

²⁰ Marshall and Foucher, *Sanchi*, III, Pl. LXXXI, 38b.

²¹ Marshall, *Taxila*, II, p. 596.

²² Vogel, J. Ph., *La Sculpture de Mathura*, Paris, 1930, Pls. LV, LVI, LVIII.

²³ Hackin, J., *Nouvelles Recherches Archéologiques à Begram*, Paris, 1954, Figs. 177-No. 150, 1-3; 175-No. 211 j, 192 v; 176-No. 34a, 11a; 184, No. 34c. 2.

²⁴ *Prince of Wales Museum Bulletin*, No. 6 (1957-59) pp. 28, ff. A similar figure of Śrī Lakṣmī probably forcing out a jewel from the open jaws of a *makara* appears on a coping stone from Amaravati. Coomaraswamy, *Takṣas*, Part II, Pl. 12. Fig. 4.

²⁵ J. Ph. Vogel, *loc. cit.*, Pl. XI a.

²⁶ A similar figure of lion appears on Taxila coins. John Allan, *A Catalogue of the Indian coins in the British Museum*, Pl. XXXII, Fig. 17-12.

B. Open moulds for the decoration of repoussé jewellery.

5. Diapered circle. Rectangular mould broken at one corner; inscribed in Aśokan Brāhmī *putisa*. (Fig. 11, No. 9). 3.9×5.3 cms.

Cunningham made the following remarks about the mould: "The specimen given in the (Plate No. 5, Pl. IX) has been selected on account of it bearing three Arian Pali letters about the circles of ornament. I read them as *Paretha*. There are traces of Arian letters on two other moulds. The occurrence of these Arian characters is both curious and interesting, as it would seem to show that Western goldsmiths must have settled at Sankisa. As the Arian characters were not used in Northern India after the downfall of the Scythians these moulds may be ascribed with much probability of their rule".²⁷

It is, however, now certain that the letters on the mould are not Kharoshthī but Brāhmī of at least second century B.C. and the correct reading is *Putisa* and not *Paretha* as suggested by Cunningham.

6. Part of a rosette. Irregular shape of the mould; deep incuse; the petal and the pod punctured with dots. (Fig. 11, No. 5). 3.3×5.5 cms.
7. Head ornament, bead and a crescent. Lunate-shaped mould; beaded head ornament (*sīsphūl*); crescent with granulated end used probably as an earring; round bead hole with interconnected channel (Fig. 11, No. 4) 3.3×3.8 cms.
8. Quarter rosette. Lunate-shaped mould; one quarter of rosette edged with dots and circles; two rows of dots; a socket to hold the tenon of the missing part. (Fig. 11, No. 6). 3.5×3.7 cms.
9. A course of lotus petals Roughly rectangular mould. (Fig. 11, No. 3). 1.2×5.3 cms.

APPENDIX B

Jeweller's mould (Fig. 12a) Kauśāmbī(?) $14.3 \times 6.7 \times 6.6$ cms. Granite; one end chipped and irregular. Presented by Mrs. W. Vost, London. There is a circular hole (about 1.8 cm) meant either for a strap to hang the mould after the work was over or to hold the peg to secure the mould to the floor or to the working platform. The following patterns appear in the cavity on all sides.

1. (a) A wing-like pattern with five curved lines (Fig. 14c);
- (b) Rectangular panel divided into seven compartments filled with four-petalled flowers (Fig. 14c);

²⁷ *Archaeological Survey of India Report* (1877-78), XI, pp. 28-29.

- (c) Seven parallel rows of cabled horizontal lines, grouped in two each (Fig. 14d).
- 2. Rhomboid with a double headless eagle; floriated tail and short wing; the head with sharp beaks are carved separately, triple beaded cabled and denticulated border (Fig. 13b).
- 3. (a) Rosette. The pod enclosed by cabled arches and open petals with cabled border followed again by concentric beaded circles (Fig. 14a);
- (b) Square incuse with a rosette; double beaded border (Fig. 12b).
- (c) Square incuse apparently cancelled due to the fault in the stone (Fig. 12b)
- 4. (a) Yaksha. The moustached figure wears an ornamented turban, *dhoti*, looped kamarband, a necklace, earrings, armlets and bracelet, (Fig. 13a).
- (b) Deep circular incuse containing a hemispherical and granulated earring or *sīsphūl* (Fig. 12a).
- 5. Rosette. Pod and petals within a beaded circle followed by petals surrounded by two headed concentric circles.
- 6. Rhomboidal pattern, diapered, with a central clip (Fig. 14b).

APPENDIX C

The mould in the Collection of the Sanskrit University, Varanasi is rectangular in shape and bears the following motifs on all six sides :

- 1. Pine-cone-shaped half medallion with cabled border and a curious motif inside. Beginning from the left a seated woman who could be identified with the goddess Śrī Lakshmī wearing a turban and ornaments including bracelets who is engaged in her toilet. She holds a mirror which is partly hidden from view in her left hand and her right hand is touching the earring. Her outstretched leg seems to be protruding from the jaws of a *makara*. Behind her is depicted a serpent and rosettes. It is followed by a snake-tailed lion ridden by a woman wearing *chhannavīra*; the rest of the space is covered with *triratnas* (Fig. 15a).
- 2. Rosette; the pod and the border beaded. It must have served as a head or ear ornament (Fig. 15b).
- 3. Three courses of lotus petals (Fig. 15c).
- 4. Crescent with a dot (Fig. 16b).
- 5. Two courses of lotus petals with cabled borders (Fig. 16a).

APPENDIX D

Gold jewellery found from the Vaiśālī excavations.²⁸

1. The figure of a Yaksha (Fig. 17a). He wears an elaborate turban, pleated *dhotī*, looped *kamarband* and *dupaṭṭā* which he holds with both hands. In the ornaments may be noted circular earrings, a necklace, armlets and bracelets. On the reverse (Fig. 17b) is seen a vertical tube to give support to the flimsy figure.

2. A pair of couchant bulls (Fig. 17c). The trapping consists of necklaces, straps, garlands, with pendants, etc. The reverse of each figure is fitted with a transversal tube. (Fig. 17d)

3. S-shaped ear ornament decorated with a rosette, commas, cones and acanthus (Fig. 17e).

4. (a) A pair of earrings with clamps (Fig. 17f).

(b) A pair of earrings fitted with cylindrical tubes and top bosses (Fig. 17g).

²⁸ *Indian Archaeology-A Review*, 1958-59, p.12, Pl. X-B.

AN ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPT OF THE *RASIKAPRIYĀ*

Moti Chandra and Parmeshwari Lal Gupta

There could hardly be any doubt that Uttar Pradesh in the medieval period must have had a distinctive school of painting which the vagaries of time and the vandalism of man have almost completely wiped off. The wall-paintings in the Chhota Kachahari temple at Madanpur in Lalitpur District built by Madanvarman (1130-1165)¹ are perhaps the oldest remnants of painting in Uttar Pradesh. Till recently the state of painting in Uttar Pradesh during the Sultanate period was hardly known. The earliest known illustrated manuscript from eastern U.P. is that of the *Kalpasūtra*, now in the collection of Narasimhajini Polna Jaina Bhandar, Baroda. The Ms. was written and illustrated in 1465 at Jaunpur in the reign of Husayn Shāh Sharqī² and though following in the main the convention of the Western Indian style the illustrations nevertheless show regional peculiarities.

That the art of painting continued to flourish in Uttar Pradesh in the first half of the 16th century is evidenced by a number of documents. We thus have illustrated versions of the *Laur Chandā* and *Mirgāvat*, romances written in Avadhi, a dialect of Hindi, spoken in Uttar Pradesh. The Kaithī script of the *Mirgāvat* in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras further supports the ascription to eastern Uttar Pradesh, as the Kaithī script was used in eastern U.P. and Bihar only.

It may be objected that there is no certainty regarding the place of origin of the above documents but at least in the case of two important Mss. their origin is beyond any doubt, the *Āranyaka Parvan* of the *Mahābhārata* in the collection of the Asiatic Society, Bombay is dated 1516 in the reign of Sikandar Lodi and the colophon says that it was painted at a place near Agra³. The second is a profusely illustrated manuscript of the Jain *Ādi Purāṇa* dated 1540 in the first regnal year of Sher Shāh and painted at Palam, near Delhi.⁴

It is evident from the above illustrated Mss. that even before the advent of the Mughals Uttar Pradesh had a school of painting and that it is almost certain that some of the painters recruited in the atelier of Akbar belonged to that school. What happened to the indigenous school after the establishment of the Mughal school is not fully known. The illustrated *Tūti-nāma* manuscript in the Cleveland Museum, however, shows that in the early

¹ *J. I. S. O. A.*, Vol. VII, p. 175.

² Moti Chandra, *Jain Miniature Paintings from Western India*, p. 21.

³ *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India*, No. 7, 1959-62, Bombay, 1964, p. 24.

⁴ *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India*, No. 7, 1959-62, Bombay, 1964, pp. 23-27.

years of Akbar the Mughal painters were trying to synthesize the convention of the Sultanate period with their own.⁵ There is every likelihood that the pre-Mughal school must have survived in different regions of U.P. for some time, till it was fully replaced by the new school, and that in the region around Agra, the popular Mughal style had been evolved which seems to have been patronised by the Hindu bankers and connoisseurs alike. But the impact the Mughal school made on painting in eastern Uttar Pradesh is not known, though there is every possibility that the pre-Mughal school of painting there must have undergone radical changes and moulded itself on the newly founded mode of expression. A set of *Rāginī* paintings in the Bharat Kala Bhavan may be the earliest in this newly developing tradition. However, there is a very interesting illustrated manuscript of the *Rasikapriyā* in Persian script in the collection of Christ Church College, Cambridge, which supports the existence of a local school in eastern Uttar Pradesh. The colophon of the manuscript (Fig. 21a) reads as follows:—

“*Risālah musammī bā ṣalāh hindwī*
Rasikpriyā dar ilm ashār hindwī
tārīkh 10 ṣafar san 1077 dar
muqām Gorakhpūr waqt ṣubḥ roze
awwal haftah jehat khātir aẓīz
Muḥammad Nāṣir faqīr Abūl Faḍl
ibn-i Shaikh Dāūd Ghori alāfiyah.”
 in the right-hand margin: *taswīrhāi mutfarriqa*
bā aṣal kutūb 26 qita.

Translation: “A treatise named as *Aslāh Hindwī Rasikpriyā*, on the technique of Hindi poems was completed on the 10th of Ṣafar 1077 A.H. (1666 A.D.) at Gorakhpur in the morning of the first Saturday for Muḥammad Nāṣir alias the humble Abūl Faḍl son of Shaikh Dāūd Ghori. Welfare of all.”

Legend on the right hand: Miscellaneous illustrations from the original books, each costing Rs. 26.

The inscriptions give the following interesting information: (1) The copy of the *Rasikapriyā* of Keśavadāsa in Persian script was made in 1666 at Gorakhpur, a famous town in eastern U.P. (2) This copy of the *Rasikapriyā* was made for Muḥammad Nāṣir, a Muslim, who was apparently fond of Hindi poetry. (3) The paintings were apparently based on some original manuscripts of the *Rasikapriyā*, which should mean that copies of the *Rasikapriyā* were already in existence in eastern U.P., though it is difficult to say whether they were written and illustrated in U.P. or brought from Bundelkhand or Rajasthan. (4) The existence of two more Gorakhpurs has also been pointed out. One Gorakhpur is a small village situated in the south of the former Mewar State, Rajasthan, about 15 miles from Mahu and the other is in the former Bijawar State in

⁵ *Burlington Magazine*, January, 1964.

Chhatarpur, 10 miles from Malhara. There is, however, no possibility of either of these two villages claiming to be the centre of a fairly strong art tradition.

An analysis of the twenty-three paintings reveal the following stylistic features.

The ethnic types, though revealing a distinct relationship with Rajasthani types of the seventeenth century, have peculiarities of their own. The male type has very light features with pointed nose, arched eye brows and carefully drawn beard and fingers. As a matter of fact, the male figure is usually in the Popular Mughal style. The women, however, are slimmer than the usual Rajasthani type and remind us of the so-called Malwa type. The face is squarish, the nose straight, the eyes *paḍol*-shaped and the hands carefully drawn. The breasts, however, are pointed and remind us of their similar treatment in the *Laur-Chandā* group of painting of an earlier date.

The landscape is simple and to the point. The sky is usually blue, white and rose with or without flying birds. In one type, streaks of blue or white and rose and very wide horizon suggest direct adaptation from the paintings of the Shāh Jahān period. The treatment of trees follows the Mughal convention with realistic trunk, indigo tree top and the clusters of leaves and flowers outlined in white. In the foreground flowering plants appear. In the treatment of water as well instead of the basket pattern the rippling lines are used. The cows have been represented in a conventional manner and the birds such as cranes, mallards and peacocks are realistically drawn after the Mughal style.

The architecture consists of single or double storied pavilions often provided with domes and balconies. The drawing of the architectural details is careful. The action always takes place on a terrace with railing.

The composition is simple and avoids over-crowding. The incidents depicted are complete in themselves and not divided into compartments as in some Rajasthani schools. However, inspite of its simplicity the luxuriousness of Keśavadāsa's diction is amply brought out by ornate architecture, well furnished rooms, rich costumes and ornaments and above all the handsome hero and heroine engaged in the sport of love.

The men invariably wear a flowered *jāma*, turban with a *pechī*, striped trousers, *kamarband* and slippers. The women wear *oḍhnī*, *sārī*, *choli* and slippers. Pompoms are attached to ornaments. A significant point in the female costume is shading with lines.

Description of the Plates :

1. Meeting of the lovers (Fig. 18a). The scene is laid in an open space with a river in the foreground and a willow on which are perched a couple

of mallards; cranes and peacocks are shown flying. The hero holding a stick in his hand is followed by two female attendants leading his beloved to him.

2. Rādhā's secret gestures (*prachchhanna cheshṭā*) (Fig. 18b). The scene is laid in a pavilion with niches holding covered bowls and wine bottles. On the right Rādhā is reclining against a bolster interlocking her hands above her head; an attendant is fanning her with a scarf; a second attendant is seated by her side. Shrubs in the foreground; black sky.

3. Reconciliation of Rādhā (*Rādhikā ko manāyibō*) (Fig. 19a). In the arched ground floor of a two storied house with a stair-case leading to the upper storey stands the hero. In the balcony of the upper storey is shown Rādhā; facing her stands the messenger, apparently carrying a message of reconciliation from the hero.

4. The hero in a loving mood (Fig. 19b). The scene is laid in a pavilion with a picturesque balcony. The hero seated against a bolster has caught the hand of the heroine holding a fan. On the left a vase and an ewer in foreground; black and white sky.

5. Krishna playing on the flute (Fig. 20a). The scene is laid in an undulating field dotted with tufts of grass, flowering plants and a weeping willow in the background. Among the four cows two are shown drowsing. Under the willow Krishna dressed in dancing costume is playing the flute. A cowherd, apparently holding pots of milk, stands before him. On the left stand two milkmaids conversing among themselves. In the foreground as well they are shown apparently proceeding towards Krishna.

6. Churning of the curd (Fig. 20b). On the ground floor of a two storied house the heroine is shown churning the curd while Krishna is standing behind her; an attendant on the right. Flower bed in the foreground; dark sky.

A TOILET SCENE

B. V. Shetti

The terracotta mould (Fig. 21b) described below was purchased by Prince of Wales Museum of Western India in 1956. It is almost rectangular in shape and measures 5.3 cms \times 5.7 cms \times 1.4 cms (approximately) depicting a woman seated in *lalitāsana* with her right foot down. She is holding a concave mirror in her left hand and with her right hand index finger she is touching the ear ornament. This suggests that she is looking at her face in the mirror and at the same time is adjusting her outsize rectangular ear-ornament. The face is almost in profile. The hair is tied in a bun over her head. One end of her *sārī* tucked in front at the waist is hanging in fan-shaped projection between her legs. Though her body above the waist is slender, her thighs are well developed. She wears a necklace hanging between her breasts, bracelets and anklets. The loose *kaṭisūtra* (waist-band), it appears is being tied around her waist by her lover seated behind. He is almost hidden from view. His presence is indicated by his hand on her right leg. It is not very clear whether the woman is sitting on a cushion or some other support. A plantain tree is represented in the background.

This figure could be compared with an ivory figure from Begram¹. Here the woman is seated exactly in the same position as in the terracotta mould. She is also holding a concave mirror in her left hand and her right hand is in the same position as that of the terracotta figure. The Begram woman is seated on a low seat and to her left is shown a female attendant holding perhaps a cosmetic box in her hands. There are slight variations in the ornaments of the figures.

The woman in terracotta mould may also be compared with Yakshi figures from Mathura. At one place she is holding a mirror in her left hand and with her right hand index finger she is touching her cheek.² But the dress and ornaments of Yakshi and the woman in the terracotta mould are different.

At another place³ the ornaments worn by her such as necklaces, bracelets, *kaṭisūtra*, and anklets are very similar to the corresponding ornaments of the woman in the terracotta mould.

The comparison of the terracotta mould with the ivory figure from Begram on one hand and the sculptures from Mathura on the other help us in dating the terracotta mould. The evidences indicate that the mould belongs to the late phase of Kūshāṇa art, i.e. second or third century A.D.

¹ Hackin, *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Begram*, Paris, 1954, Fig. 39. j. 1.

² *Ars Asiatica*, XV, *La Sculpture de Mathura*, Paris, 1930, Pl. XVII.

³ *Ibid.*, Pl. L, Fig a.

A SEVENTEENTH CENTURY INDO-PORTUGUESE WRITING CABINET

Simon Digby

Among the recent acquisitions of the Prince of Wales Museum Bombay is a writing cabinet veneered in teakwood inlaid with ivory, formerly in the possession of the late Sir Salar Jung.¹ I have not seen any other example of this 17th century Indian handicraft in museums in India,² but at least 50 or 60 examples are known in Europe where the climatic conditions and the settled state of aristocratic houses have been kinder for their preservation. In any case, there can be no doubt that these articles of furniture were mainly produced to Portuguese orders. Probably the greater proportions of them were exported to Europe at the time of manufacture.

The best single collection of this type of furniture is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, London, but individual pieces may still be seen in aristocratic houses, such as Hampton Court, where doubtless they found a home in the 17th century. There are pieces in Portuguese collections³ and probably elsewhere on the continent.⁴

1 The cabinet is in a damaged condition. The true right side of the cabinet (Panel 2) and the plain back have suffered from white ants, but other damage, consisting of the peeling off of the inlay from the rough wood ground must be attributed to climatic conditions and negligence. It has been somewhat crudely bound in brass at the edges, while the top has been covered by a clean piece of plywood, obviously a very recent addition. From the inner side above the top drawer the wood appears quite intact, and it is possible that this plywood may mask a still recognizable design of inlay. It is of interest that some repairs seem to have been executed at an ancient date. On the left side panel (Panel 1, Fig. 22a) the portion of the vase to the right of the illustration and the legs of the tiger to the left are a repair, in which the lines drawn on the ivory have been inadequately executed. A new lock has been inserted in the flap, visible at the bottom of Panel 4. It is possible that at this time the stem of the central tree may have been foreshortened, and the vase and dish, which are original work, raised by an inch or so. The deep central drawer (Panel 2, Fig. 22b) originally possessed a lock and keyhole, skilfully filled in. The filling, with but a single inlaid spring upon it, is visible in the design of the flowering tree. The pattern of the key of the front flap of European type as on other cabinets of this kind could be nearly contemporary with the manufacture of the box, though the key itself is a replacement.

2 Dr. Jorge De Andrade, *Goan Furniture*, Marg, VIII, No. 1, December 1954, p. 38 for a later example of Indo-Portuguese inlay of a geometrical character, a piece in the Church of Bom Jesu, Goa.

3 The writer is indebted to Mr. John Irwin, Curator, Indian Section, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, who showed him his extensive collection of photographs of pieces in Portuguese collections and drew his attention to his article on Japanese lacquer cabinets in the *Burlington Magazine*.

4 The writer saw a large piece, a side table with drawers in a Paris antique shop.

The very damaged condition of our cabinet reveals clearly the technique of decoration. Over the faces of the unpolished wood of which the box and its drawers are made, are pasted thin sheets of polished dark brown teak wood from which have been excised the areas constituting the design. The hollow spaces have been filled with pieces of ivory, also glued to the underlying wood, and in some cases pinned, with brass pins whose level heads still retain a bright yellow gold colour. On the larger pieces of ivory patterns are drawn in black and in one or two places in red.

The subjects depicted on the cabinet are as follows :—

Panels 1 and 2. Sides: A flowering tree rising from vase and dish, with seated affronted tiger on either side. There are birds in the trees. (Figs. 22 a and b).

Panel 3. Outside front flap: Two seated tigers amid three flowering trees; the two flanking trees rise from short pedestals; the central tree is smaller than on panels 1 and 2. Above the great area of damage, at the top of the central tree there is an unexplained object with wavy lines. It could be the tail of a large decorative bird or just an awning.

Panel 4. Inner side of front flap: Three flowering trees, the central tree springing from a vase, those flanking from pedestals. Two facing angels, with wings crossing above their heads, in long robes with voluted helm and embroidered ornament or large necklace at the collar. They also wear long girdles (*paṭkās*) divided in geometrical panels and fringed. They wear peaked caps with small side flaps (Fig. 23a).

The drawers of the cabinet are decorated with a flowering tree, proportioned according to the height with different objects on either side in the following order.

Panel 5. Two arabesque shapes rising from ground.⁵

Panel 6. Two peacocks.

Panel 7. Same as Panel 5.

Panel 8. Deer fleeing, Cheetah springing.

Panel 9. Two deer, their horned heads bent forward.

Panel 10. Same as Panel 8.

Panel 11. Same as Panel 9.

5 It is odd to find these non-representational shapes in the places which elsewhere in the design are filled with living creatures. The only concrete objects which they suggest to the writer are the marble or stone weights which are placed at the corners of floor coverings, or the shrouds of a Muslim grave, to keep them in place.

Panel 12. Beneath a proportionately taller flowering tree is a bed, with ornamentation possibly representing a cloth hanging over it, on four bulbous legs. On it sit two facing female (?) figures, their hands raised as if in conversation. They wear a garment with decorated collar similar to those of the angels of Panel 4 and similar *paṭkās*. They also wear wimples (*oḍhnīs*) with decorated ends and fringe (for Panels 5 to 12, see Fig. 23 b).

We now come to the question of the provenance of this cabinet and similar pieces. Eventually the traditions of this form of "Intarsia" or "Marqueterie" derive from the medieval Middle East. There is a magnificent Siculo-Arab specimen of the 13th century.⁶ Numerous examples survive from 15th and 16th century Italy, their geometrical decoration reflecting Middle Eastern models. Some of the Italian designs are very similar to the "Khatam-Kari" still made at Shiraz. A similar tradition of geometrical inlay survives at Granada in Southern Spain.

Independently of Portuguese influence, inlay on wood may have earlier existed in Muslim India. I see no reason to believe that the Shiraz tradition was influenced by Europe. The *Akbar Nāma* and other Akbar period MSS. show the emperor sometimes seated on a throne which closely resembles this Shiraz work. At Bidar in the Rangin Mahal mother of pearl inlay on the inner arch of the doorway has been used in magnificent arabesque panels of purely Perian design.⁷ The technique may have been suggested by Persian tile-mosaic imported in great quantities to Bidar and by the availability of mother of pearl.

6 Illustrated in G. Migeon's "*Manuel D art Musulman*" Vol. II, Paris, 1907, p. 146, Fig. 132. A lavish example of Khatm-Kārī of the Shiraz type is depicted at the base of the throne in the court scene by Basāwan, Plate A *Lalit Kalā*, Oct. 1961, (Ms. of Anwar-i-Suhayli in Bharat Kala Bhavan).

7 G. Yazdani, "*Bidar: its history and monuments*," London. O.U.P. 1947. Plate XIII. See also Bashiruddin Ahmad, "*Waqi 'at-i-Mamlakat-i-Bijapur*" Vol. III, Hyderabad, Dn. 1915, pp. 131, 144. 'Ali Barid built or reconstructed the Rangin Mahal in the last year of his life, 987 A.H./1579-80 A.D. The connection of Bidar with so many forms of inlay is noteworthy. Bidri-ware, as it is known throughout India by this name, can hardly have originated anywhere else, and vast quantities survive in Hyderabad, produced down to this day at Bidar. (For other centres see Sir George Watt, "*Indian Art*", 1904, pp. 46-49). I have not seen any dated piece of Bidri-ware earlier than the mid-19th century. "An ewer signed by a craftsman in the service of Timur and dated 803 A.H. (1400 A.D.)" probably still in the reserve collections of the Victoria and Albert Museum, if it is indeed of Bidri ware, must be a fake, though not necessarily a modern one, as such articles may have supported bogus claims to noble ancestry in Mughal times. (Catalogue of the Indian Museum, London, p. 19, cited by K. M. Ashraf, in "*Life and conditions of the people of Hindustan*", 2nd ed. Delhi, 1959, p. 100, n. 2). On two great cannon of the Barīdshāhī period of Bidar, still on the bastions of the fort, there are calligraphic inscriptions which have been incised deep into the iron and filled with brass. The brilliant colour of the brass attracted the covetous, and everywhere it has been scraped out with considerable damage to the surrounding iron, but the few traces which remain belie the belief of the present day inhabitants of Bidar, and of the thieves, that the inlay was of pure gold, by their green oxidization.

The flowering trees, on these pieces, it must be said, in spite of their oriental character, are very close to those of the 16th century European pieces—those deriving from Islamic prototypes. On late 16th to 17th century European inlaid cabinets human and animal subjects also were commonly depicted—probably the nature of even the designs on these pieces has been influenced by European models. On the other hand the development of such a decorative tradition is natural in the Indian environment; it brings to mind not only the living forms on the metal-ware of the period, but also the late 15th century Indo-Islamic tile mosaics of the Man Mandir at Gwalior depicting tigers and elephants and angels and plantain trees.

However, we cannot deny the strength of the Portuguese connection with this type of furniture. The shapes and functions of the pieces, including these writing cabinets with their drawers and front flaps, are those of contemporary European and particularly Iberian furniture. The Victoria and Albert Museum possesses a Communion Table with a mixture of the ordinary Indian motifs and a Christian centre-piece of a monstrance and cherubs. Pieces are known with European figures upon them. Moreover pieces of exactly similar shape were commissioned from Japan by the Portuguese from about 1580 onwards.⁸ On the strength of their European parallels, the Indian pieces must be dated to the late 16th and 17th century, a date which agrees perfectly with style of the animals and the figures in their design.

However, the place of their manufacture or the tradition from which their Indian decorators sprang, remain a problem. Similar traditions of wood inlay survive in Hoshiarpur in the Punjab and in Visakhapatnam. Some of the Visakhapatnam pieces—again for the European market—must date from the late 18th century—and there are indentifiable labelled Hoshiarpur pieces—Victorian ladies' work boxes, which cannot be much less than a century old. In Goa a tradition of ivory and ebony inlay in a characteristic geometrical pattern flourished at the end of the 17th century.⁹ This inlay is found together with the inlay of figures and animals on one or two pieces. From Goa a derivative tradition seems to have spread to Ceylon, and the crudely executed elephants in inlay on early 19th century Ceylonese boxes are eventually related to the Indo-Persian animals of our school.

The Communion Table in the Victoria and Albert Museum is or was labelled as Agra work but this is an attribution made many years ago, when provincial schools of painting were almost unknown and it doubtless reflects romantic ideas of the Jesuits and the Great Mughal. In view of the size of many of the pieces in Europe it must be admitted as a reasonable hypothesis that the craftsmen rather than the furniture were brought from some centre

8 Irwin "*Burlington Magazine*" 1957. Some pieces were, he shows, imported to England and from Japan between 1608 and 1624.

9 The piece illustrated in "Marg" (See note 2) shows this pattern.

of Indian crafts to the sea port, probably Goa, from which they were exported to Europe.

The draftsmanship, the subject matter and mannerisms of style on all these pieces, are remarkably consistent, so that it is difficult to maintain that the designers did not spring from a single Indian tradition. Against the attribution to Agra and the Mughal Court, these elements of decoration are not repeated on any other characteristically Mughal work. Such a detail as the intensely elegant Persian form of the vase and its dish in our cabinet seems to rule out Rajasthan or any area not imbued with an old Islamic tradition. The human figures on the European examples are very stylised, but mostly so crudely drawn that they might be degeneration from almost any Indian tradition. But in our cabinet the two seated figures on Panel 12 are by comparison unusually well executed and their features appear to be close to Deccani painting and more particularly to the Golconda school. Their costumes, the *oḍhnīs* and *paṭkās* are at any rate consistent with this while the peaked caps of the angels again suggest a Deccani rather than a Mughal provenance. They recall the royal headgear of the 15th and 16th centuries and the caps worn by Sajjāda nashīns in the Deccan to this day.¹⁰ Details which can be paralleled in Deccani painting include the conventional manner in which the two seated figures raise their further hands, the excessive length of the *paṭkās* worn by the angels together with the rounded curves in which they fall, and the highly artificial volutions of the hems of the angels' robes. An example of later 17th century ivory inlay on wood in the Deccan survives in the two doors on the upper storey landing of the Āthār Mahal at Bijapur. The work is of a plain geometrical character.

The other elements which look non-Mughal would agree with a Deccani provenance. The squat tigers with their highly stylised stripes recall the 15th century tile mosaic tiger at Bidar.¹¹ Lion-tigers triumphing over elephants, swallowing them or riding them or holding one beneath each claw are very common decorative motifs in the Deccan to be found at Gulbarga, Golconda, Bijapur, at Janjira in the Konkan and from Ahmednagar. Indeed the striped in a more modern idiom is to be found on the walls of Hyderabad, fresh painted in every year, an emblem popular among the Shias of the Deccan of Hazrat 'Alī "Shér-é-Khudā". A motif related to the combination of a tiger and elephants which appears in some of the inlaid cabinets in European collections is of the *humā*, the Persian-Chinese bird of fortune but on these

¹⁰ Yazdani, *op. cit.* Plate LXXV. Photograph of the *Jangam* at Bidar representing the early 15th century King and Saint Ahmad Shāh Walī Bahmanī. A similar cap is worn by the Sajjāda Nashīn of Khwāja Gesūdarāz when officiating at the Sandal Mali ceremony at Gulbarga. These caps however have no side flaps.

¹¹ Yazdani, *op. cit.* Plate XXXVII. The motif and its religious significance are Persian and Shia, but the execution and harsh strong colours seem Indian, and recall the tile-work elephants and angels on the Man Mandir at Gwalior.

depicted as an enormous Garuḍa-like being with an elephant beneath each of its claws. On our cabinet the form of the little peacocks on Panel 6 should be noted. These unfamiliar elements together with the sophistication of the Persian vase and dish (Panels 3 and 4) are surely more consonant with a Deccani tradition than any other.

The Japanese writing cabinets of a similar shape made under Portuguese influence are of lacquer with a very lavish use of mother of pearl unlike subsequent Japanese lacquer for the internal market. Mother of pearl inlay on wood from the Mughal period survives in several places in India, particularly in the form of canopies (*chharkhat*) for saints' tombs. The writer has examined the canopy at the tomb of Nizāmuddīn Awliyā in Delhi, put up by Jahāngīr's minister Shaykh Farīd Bukhārī.¹² The mother of pearl is set in a coating of black lac upon the wood, a technique resembling that of the cabinets made in Japan for the Portuguese. The work closely resembles a box in the Victoria and Albert Museum now on display as 18th century Turkish.¹³ Small passages of decoration on some pieces of our ivory inlaid furniture in Europe are in mother of pearl, the technique resembling Shirāz *khatamkārī*, but it would not be surprising if cabinets of our type extensively decorated in mother of pearl should one day come to light. The writer has seen in a private collection a very small drawered writing cabinet of the Indo-Portuguese type of painted work with figures apparently in a late 17th century Deccani tradition, against a dark red back-ground, a combination which may possibly reflect a Far Eastern red lacquer model. It appears to have been a very early example of the tradition of painted wood work for which Lingampalli in Hyderabad is well known. This again seems to be a small pointer towards the Deccani provenance of our cabinet.

12 This bears the date of 1017 A.H./1608-9 AD. Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, "Āthār-us-Sanādīd". 4th Ed., Cawnpore 1904, Pt. II, p. 30. "Āp kī mazār par sip kī pachikārī kū bahut tohfa chhapar-khat chhāyāhai". Inscription with date given in Bashīruddīn Ahmad, "Wagī'āt-i-Dārul Hukūmat-i-Delhi"—1919. II, p. 791. Memoir of the Arch. Survey of India. No. 10. "Guide to Nizamuddin" by Maulavi Zafar Hasan, 1922. p. 12. "Delhi Province. List of Monuments" 1919. II, p. 147.

13 Sir George Watt, *Indian Art at Delhi*, Calcutta, 1903, Plate 43-D, article no. 2.

The Museum authorities had then sent it to the Delhi Exhibition as an antique Indian piece. Does this reflect the fact that it was acquired from some Indian source? Article No. 1 in the same plate is the detached flap of an ivory inlaid cabinet of the same type and size as that of the Prince of Wales Museum, probably of rather later date, and with figures of a more Mughal type. In the plate it has been so photographed as to appear joined to the mother of pearl inlay box, which of course is not the case.

TWELFTH CENTURY ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS FROM MŪDBIDRI

Saryu Doshi

From a Bhaṇḍāra in the little town of Mūdbidri — about twenty miles east of Mangalore in the State of Mysore — have come to light three illustrated palm-leaf manuscripts¹ of the *Shaṭakhaṇḍāgama*, the *Mahābandha*, and the *Kashāyapāhuḍa*. They are the earliest known illustrated manuscripts from South India. For centuries Mūdbidri has been a repository of Digambara Jain treasures consisting of manuscripts, statuettes of precious stones and metals, but little was known about the illustrated manuscripts, as the Bhaṇḍāra was guarded with characteristic fervour by the Digambaras, and its contents seldom shown to visitors.

These three illustrated manuscripts deal with the *karma* philosophy of the Jains. Together, they form the Digambara Jain philosophy in its entirety. According to the tradition² the teachings of Lord Mahāvīra were arranged into twelve *Āṅgas* by his disciples. However, with the passage of time, and in the process of oral transmission, the Digambaras lost most of the twelve *Āṅgas* and only fractions of the fifth and the twelfth *Āṅgas* were known to a few Āchāryas. Around the beginning of the Christian era a need was felt to preserve for posterity, the fast depleting knowledge of Jain canonical literature. Two Āchāryas, independent of each other, made efforts to collect and to preserve the floating knowledge in a written form. Āchārya Guṇadhara composed the *Kashāyapāhuḍa*,³ which deals with the four *kashāyas* — anger (*krodha*), pride (*māna*), illusion (*māyā*) and greed (*lobha*) — and how they become the causes of *karma* bondage. Āchārya Dharasena summoned two brilliant men — Pushpadanta and Bhūtabali and taught them all he knew. These two pupils transcribed Dharasena's teachings into *sūtra* form and divided it systematically into six parts. Thus this work has come to be known as the *Shaṭakhaṇḍāgama*. The first three parts of this work tell us how the soul is the agent of bondage, and the other three deal with the objective *karmas*, their nature and their extent.

Over the centuries many commentaries were written on these works but none as famous as those of Virasena, so much so that his commentaries have become synonymous with the works themselves. A judicious writer, Virasena wrote a long commentary on the first five parts of the *Shaṭakhaṇḍāgama* and called it *Dhavalā*. The sixth part of the *Shaṭakhaṇḍāgama*, the *Mahābandha*,

¹ Now in the collection of the Trustees of the Siddhānta Bāsadhī at Mūdbidri (South Kanara).

² Jain, Dr. Hiralal, Introduction to *Shaṭakhaṇḍāgama*, I, Amraoti, 1933.

³ Jain, Dr. Hiralal, *Bhārattya Sanskriti Men Jaina Dharma kā yogadāna*, Jabalpur, 1960, p. 82.

Virasena felt needed no commentary as it was self explanatory. The *Mahābandha* is also alternatively known as the *Mahādhavalā*. On the *Kashāyapāhuḍa*, Virasena began a prodigious commentary naming it the *Jayadhavalā*. Virasena could, however, finish only one third of this ambitious work in his lifetime and it was left to his disciple Jinasena to complete the *Jayadhavalā* — a combined herculean effort of 60,000 *śloka*s.

The miniatures in these three manuscripts from Mūdbidri were first published by Dr. Hiralal Jain in his books, the *Shatākhaṇḍāgama* and *Bhāratiya Sanskriti men Jaina Dharma kā Yogadāna*.⁴ Dr. Hiralal however did not analyse the aesthetic value of the paintings. Dr. Moti Chandra⁵ made a reference to them in the Tagore lectures delivered under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania in the spring of 1964. These miniatures were also exhibited in the manuscript exhibition held in Delhi in January 1964 at the time of the XVI International Congress of Orientalists.⁶

All the three palm-leaf manuscripts were written in the first quarter of the twelfth century. The size of the folios of the *Shatākhaṇḍāgama* is 75 × 6 cms., that of the *Mahābandha* 72.5 × 7 cms. and of the *Kashāyapāhuḍa* 68.5 × 7 cms.⁷ The *Shatākhaṇḍāgama* has two illustrated folios, the *Mahābandha* seven, and the *Kashāyapāhuḍa* fourteen illustrated folios. The original Prakrit text is written in Kanarese script together with Virasena's commentaries in Prakrit alternating with Sanskrit. The *Shatākhaṇḍāgama* bears the date corresponding to 1113 A.D.

The illustrations are mainly iconographic in interest with an esoteric rather than aesthetic value. They serve the same purpose as the figures of the gods and goddesses in the Pāla palm-leaf manuscripts,⁸ the representation of Jinas and Vidyādevīs in Western Indian painting of the thirteenth century. The motivation behind these iconographic illustrations was to give potency to the text and enhance its magical value. In these representations we find the beginnings of a concept that eventually developed into complicated *maṇḍalas* of later times.

The illustrations represent Jain gods and goddesses, monks and devotees. There are, besides these, some purely formal motifs of lotuses and floral scrolls. Decorative borders enframing the illustrations enhance their effectiveness. The borders are simple but varied and were obviously inspired by contemporary textile designs⁹ as enumerated in the *Mānasollāsa*. Often there is a central motif bordered on both sides by simple bands of varied widths and colours,

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 397.

⁵ Dr. Moti Chandra, *Studies in Medieval Painting*, Unpublished.

⁶ *Manuscripts from Indian collections—Descriptive Catalogue*, New Delhi, 1964, pp. 41-43.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Dr. Moti Chandra, *op. cit.*, unpublished.

⁹ Dr. Moti Chandra, *Indian Costumes and Textiles from the eighth to twelfth century*, *Journal of Indian Textile History*, No. 5, Ahmedabad, 1960, p. 20.

consisting of scalloped triangles, chevron, palmates, triple lines (*rekhātraya*), circles (*vrittarekhāni*), dots (*binduyutāni*) etc.

The artists seemed to have a penchant for drawing scrolls; they used them as decorative panels, and as borders around the pictures (Figs. 24a & 26b). Sometimes, blank spaces between the arches are filled up by light calligraphic scrolls in a rather interesting manner (Fig. 28a).

The talent of the artists, their sureness of hand, and familiarity with form, is nowhere better seen than in the decorative lotus medallions (Figs. 24b and 24c). Conventional forms of lotuses are arranged in geometrical patterns of circles, attractively done with fine incisive lines.

The figures of the gods and goddesses are many, the latter being more intriguing. The Tirthaṅkaras are shown either standing in *Kāyotsarga* pose (Fig. 25a) or seated in *Padmāsana* (Fig. 25b). Except for the figure of Bāhubali standing erect and enmeshed in vines, and some representations of Pārśvanātha, the other Jinas are indistinguishable, as they bear no identification marks whatsoever.

The Yakṣiṇīs in these manuscripts are well known in the Jain pantheon. By far the best is the representation of Padmāvatī (Fig. 25c) shown as the Sāsana Devī of Pārśvanātha. She is shown seated on a throne, holding in her upper hands a goad (*aṅkuśa*) and a noose (*pāśa*), her lower right hand is in *Abhaya mudrā* and the lower left hand in *Varada mudrā*. She wears ornaments including an impressive crown, and a conopy of seven cobra hoods. Her mount — the *Kukkūṭa-Sarpa* — is shown on her right with the head of a snake and the body of a goose.

There is an interesting representation of a goddess sitting on a bull. This figure has an air of animation about it, which is not found in the pictorial representations of other goddesses. The body of the goddess as she sits on the bull is in contrapposto, the straining head of the bull and the looped fluttering scarves generally contribute to a feeling of dynamism as against the static postures otherwise apparent in the illustrations of these manuscripts. She is a four-armed goddess carrying in her upper right hand a goad (*aṅkuśa*) and in her upper left hand a noose (*pāśa*), the two lower hands are indistinct. Here iconography poses a problem, for she carries the attributes of Padmāvatī, but the bull mount stands in the way of her identification as Padmāvatī. If the identity is based on the mount, then she could be identified with Rohiṇī.¹⁰ However, her composite character makes the identification difficult.

Another four-armed goddess, in the company of a goose with floriated tail (Fig. 26a), leaves the question of identification unanswered. She too, carries the goad (*aṅkuśa*) and the noose (*pāśa*) in her upper right and left hands

¹⁰ Bhattacharya B. C., *Jaina Iconography*, Lahore, 1939, p. 166, Pl. XIV.

respectively. Her lower right is in *Abhaya mudrā*, but the lower left hand is indistinct.

There are two more or less similar representations of a goddess seated on a rectangular pedestal and attended by a worshipper and a peacock (Figs.26b & 26c). This seems to be the goddess Sarasvatī, as in one representation she carries a book in her lower left hand (Fig.26b). The other hands in both the illustrations are disposed as has been the case so far of the goddesses described above — carrying the goad (*aṅkuśa*) and the noose (*pāśa*) in her upper hands and in one the lower right is in *Abhaya mudrā*. It is well known in Jain iconography that Padmāvatī has the attributes of the goad and the noose in common with Sarasvatī. There is, however, another query to be answered before finally identifying the goddess as Sarasvatī. This goddess is shown once fair (Fig.26b) and once dark, (Fig.26c) while the prescribed carnation of Sarasvatī is fair. This variation in the carnation is not confined to this goddess alone, but is a common feature in the representations of goddesses (Figs.27a & 27b). There are at least three instances where the goddess is shown twice; each of the two representations are similar to a point where one appears to be a copy of the other. In these illustrations the goddess represented is identical in every way — the manner in which she is seated, her attributes, the pedestal, the number of attendants and their postures, their dress (Figs.26b & 26c) and even their hair styles. The only difference is in the carnation — in one she is red and in the other yellow (Figs.27a & 27b). It is significant to note that here we have a concept akin to the Buddhist concept of the fair (*gaura*) and dark (*śyāma*) Tārā.¹¹ It is also notable that the goddess in her various manifestations holds the same attributes in the same order in her upper two hands and also in her lower right hand. The lower left hand shows minor variations in which she sometimes holds a citron fruit, sometimes it is in *Varada mudrā*, but it is not possible to generalise as frequently it is indistinct.

There are two representations of the two armed Ambikā; in one, she is represented informally in a grove with her two sons and her gambolling lion-vehicle, (Fig.27c) while in the other she is shown enthroned with her two sons, each riding a lion shown on either side of the goddess (Fig.28a).

Of Yakshas, there are four representations. One of them is a Kubera-like two armed Yaksha seated in between two trees and next to him is an elephant (Fig.28b). According to Digambara iconography he may be identified as Sarvaṇa Yaksha. Other Yakshas (Fig.29a) cannot be identified satisfactorily. Yaksha Dharaṇendra is shown as an attendant deity of Pārśvanātha, appropriately canopied with snake hoods (Fig.25c).

Of donors or devotees there is only one representation in the *Shatākhaṇḍā-gama* appearing on both ends of a folio, but unfortunately the figures are

¹¹ Bhattacharya, Binaytosh, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 306-08.

damaged. The devotees wear *dhotis* and scarves. One of them wears a pointed beard, some jewellery and a blue jacket, the shape of which is exactly like the jackets seen in Western Indian illustrations of the twelfth century¹² (Fig. 28c).

As the time lag between the execution of these manuscripts is insignificant there are hardly any stylistic variations. Yet the illustrations of each manuscript manage to retain an individuality of their own within the framework imposed by the rules of a hieratic art.

The composition in the *Shatakhaṇḍāgama* mostly confined to single figure, whereas in the *Kashāyapāhuḍa* composition with three to five figures appears. In general the *Kashāyapāhuḍa* illustrations show greater elaboration and more interesting backgrounds.

It is significant to note that in the Mūdbidri manuscripts we find both the linear, and the colour-modelling styles of painting. In the colour-modelling technique the roundness of the form is emphasised by the intensity or otherwise of colours. Even the undulating line by its thickness and thinness suggests modelling (Figs. 26a, 27c, 28a, 28b, and 29a). However, sometimes recourse is taken to the linear technique, characterised by an exaggeration of body proportions and distortion of postures (Figs. 25a, 27a, 27b, and 28a). In the *Shatakhaṇḍāgama* figures have a certain dignity and volume (Fig. 28c). In the *Mahā-bandha* illustrations colour-modelling is employed by showing a thick line in colour outlining the figure. Roundness is implied at various places by the inflection of the outline (Figs. 26a and 29a). In the *Kashāyapāhuḍa* illustrations, greater use is made of the linear technique. The farther cheek is pinched, the farther eye protrudes into space and the proportions of the body are exaggerated. The women have big breasts and disproportionately narrow waists (Figs. 25a, 25c, 27a and 27b).

The drawing of hands and feet show a cursoriness more due to the attitude of the artists than their lack of skill (Fig. 27b). This carelessness is confined to the extremities rather than other parts of the body.

Architectural forms are rudimentary, consisting of three or five cusped arches under which the goddess is enthroned. Sometimes the arches assume an elaborate character borrowed from the contemporary architecture (Figs. 27b and 28a). Trees are represented conventionally. In one form the tree has a red dot in the centre with radiating leaves (Fig. 28b). In another type the tree top is made up of a series of rosettes (Fig. 27a). In the third type the big curved leaves are highly decorative (Fig. 27b).

The colours used in the miniatures are a deep green, yellow and red. Black is used for drawing the outline.

¹² Dr. Moti Chandra, *Studies in Medieval Painting*, Unpublished.

It should be noted that the miniatures are closely related to the contemporary sculpture in Karnataka.¹³ The use of the scroll as a decorative motif (Figs. 29a and 29b), the iconography of the gods and goddesses, the disposition of forms and even minor details such as jewellery and the mode of wearing it, are common and interrelated features (Figs. 29c and 26b). The conventional treatment of the lion is almost similar in both. It is also significant to note that both painting and sculpture in Karnataka of the 12th century are inspired by the same aesthetic and religious ideals.

In conclusion, we may say that though these paintings are no great works of art their importance lies in their being the sole survivors of the ancient tradition of painting existing in South India. So far, the existence of such a tradition in miniature painting could only be surmised, for no actual evidence was available. With the discovery of the illustrated manuscripts from Mūdbidri, however, there is at least some material which tell us though imperfectly, of a glorious tradition which is lost. These manuscripts also establish that they were the products of a style that had many points in common with the Western Indian style of painting then prevalent in Gujarat and Rajasthan. The illustrations also reveal a close relationship between the plastic and the graphic arts, and are the precursors of a style of painting found later in South India.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES

Fig. 24a. Floriated scroll bordered on one side by a band of solid triangles and on the other by a border which has a zigzag as the central motif, plain ancillary bands are on either side of it; each band is separated by three lines.

Fig. 24b. Two interlinked circles; one of which is crenellated, filled with lotus flowers. On one side is a border decorated with solid triangles on either side of a band with hammer-like motif.

Fig. 24c. Interlinked lunates and a concentric circle containing blossoming lotus flowers. A band of diagonal lines separate it from a double crenellated circle with the interior filled with lotus flowers in full bloom.

Fig. 25a. Standing Bāhubali enmeshed in creepers. On either side stand his sisters wearing narrow scarves and chaplet round their bunlike coiffure.

Fig. 25b. Seated Jina on lion throne with a *chauri*-bearer on either side. Note the elaborate decoration of the throne with a lion on either side and the *makaras* spouting rhizome. The figure copies similar sculptures in stone and bronze almost to the minutest details.

¹³ Cousens, H. *The Chātukyan Architecture of the Kanarese Districts*, Calcutta, 1926.

I am indebted to Dr. U. P. Shah for his kind help.

Fig. 25c. Seated Pārśvanātha on a lion throne with a *chauri*-bearer standing on either side. On Pārśva's proper left stands the ornamented Dharaṇendra holding the goad and the noose in his upper right and left hands respectively; his lower right hand is in *Abhaya mudrā* and the lower left hand in *Varada mudrā*: On Pārśva's proper right is seated the four-armed Padmāvatī holding the goad and the noose in her upper right and left hands respectively and her lower right hand holds a rosary and the lower left holds an indistinct object; next to her on her right is her vehicle the *Kukkuṭa-sarpa* (body of a goose and head of a snake). Pārśva, Padmāvatī and Dharaṇendra, all have a canopy of seven snake hoods above their heads.

Fig. 26a. Two armed goddess seated in Lalitāsana a peacock with floriated tail on her proper left and a floriated scroll motif on her proper right. The miniature is framed by borders consisting of bands of basket pattern.

Fig. 26b. Seated four-armed goddess of yellow carnation, holding a goad and a noose in her upper right and left hands respectively; her lower right hand is in *Abhaya mudrā* and her lower left hand holds a book. The goddess can thus be identified as Śarasvatī. A peacock with a floriated tail and an attendant with hands in *Añjali* pose are on the proper right. The borders are filled with floral scrolls and other decorative motifs.

Fig. 26c. Same as 26b except that the carnation of the goddess is red.

Fig. 27a. Enthroned goddess with fair carnation; a female *chauri*-bearer on either side. She holds the goad and noose in her upper right and left hands; her lower right hand is in *Abhaya mudrā* and her lower left hand holds a citron. On the right is a tree with knotted trunk and interlacing rosettes forming the tree top.

Fig. 27b. Same as above except that carnation of the goddess is red.

Fig. 27c. Two-armed seated Ambikā with red carnation; one son seated on her left under a tree, and the other is riding the lion on her right.

Fig. 28a. Two-armed red Ambikā on the lion throne; right hand is in *Abhaya mudrā* and the left hand holds a citron; on her either side is a son riding the lion.

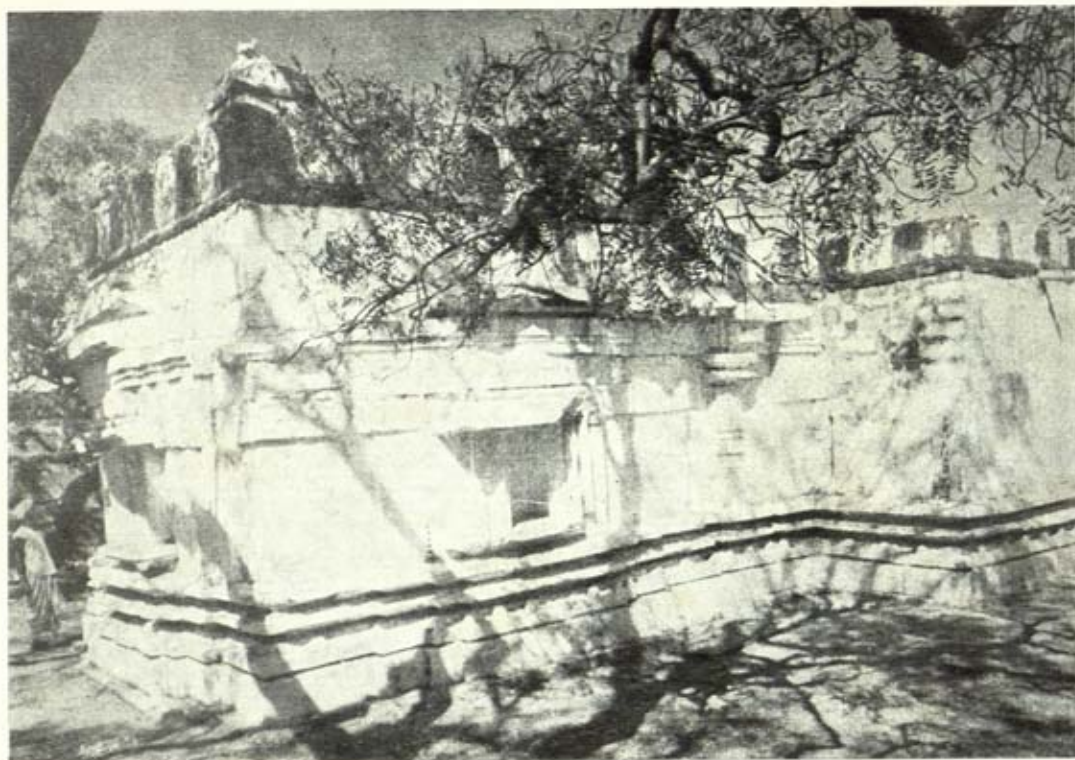
Fig. 28b. Sarvaṇa Yaksha (?) seated under two trees with a couchant elephant next to him. His right arm appears to hold one indistinct object and the left hand is in *Varada mudrā*.

Fig. 28c. Three donors; two seated and one standing. The first bearded one wears a *dhoti* and a short jacket.

Fig. 29a. Unidentified Yaksha, seated, four-armed; wears an interesting head-dress. In the compartment next to him is a superb floriated scroll.

Fig. 29b. Scroll motif from sculpture of the same period.

Fig. 29c. Goddess Sarasvati in stone. Sculpture from Gadag of the same period. Close affinity can be noticed between contemporary sculpture and painting.



1a. Kumāresvara temple. Kollur. 13th cent. A.D.



1b. Mukhamanḍapa of Kumāresvara temple. Kollur. 13th cent. A.D.



2a. Male figures. Kollur, Early 14th cent. A.D. Hts. 18 and 13 cms. respectively.



2b. Male figure. Kollur, Early 14th cent. A.D.
Ht. 10 cms.



3a. Ritual jar. Kollur. Early 14th cent. A.D. Ht. 35.5 cms.



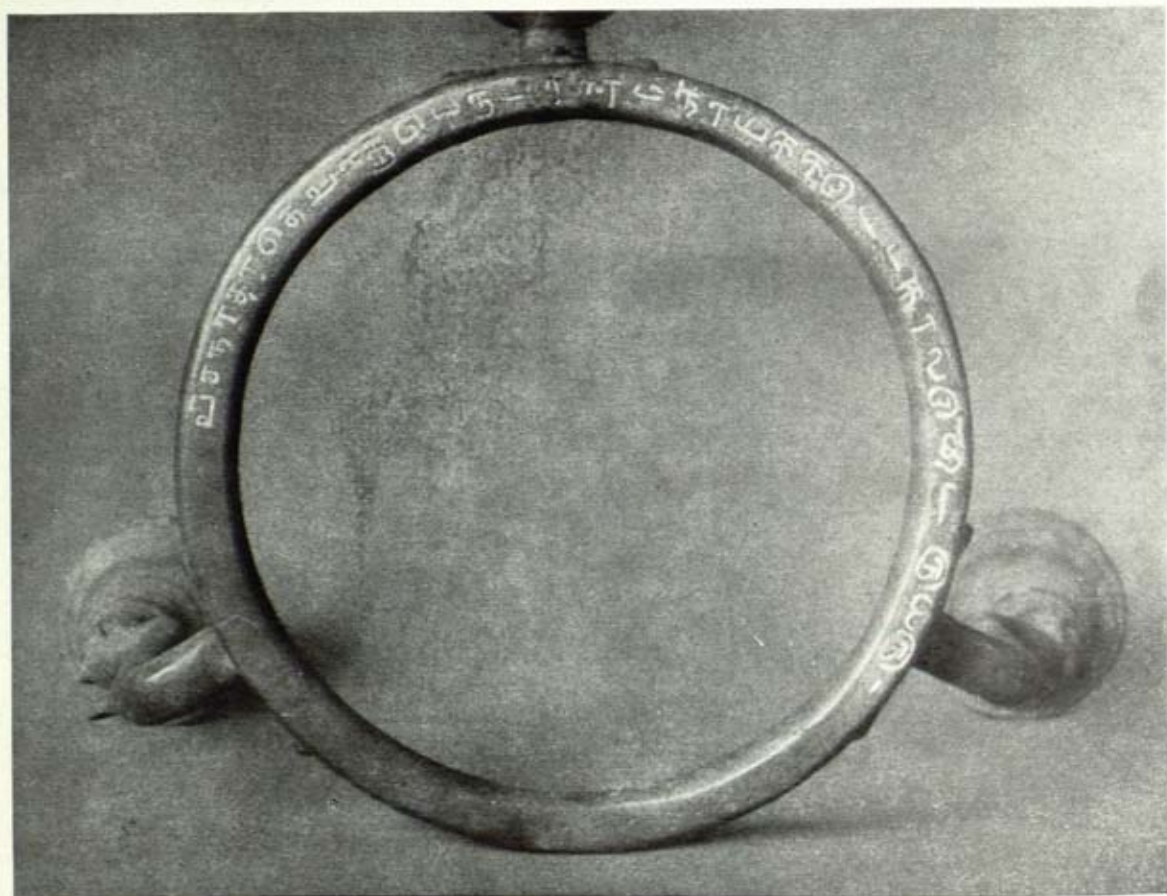
3b. Ewer. Kollur. Early 14th cent. A.D. Ht. 27.5 cms.



3c. Double ceremonial vessel. Kollur. Early 14th cent. A.D. Ht. 25 cms.



4a. Tripod. Kollur. Early 14th cent. A.D. Ht. 20.6 cms.
Dia. of the ring 18.9 cms.



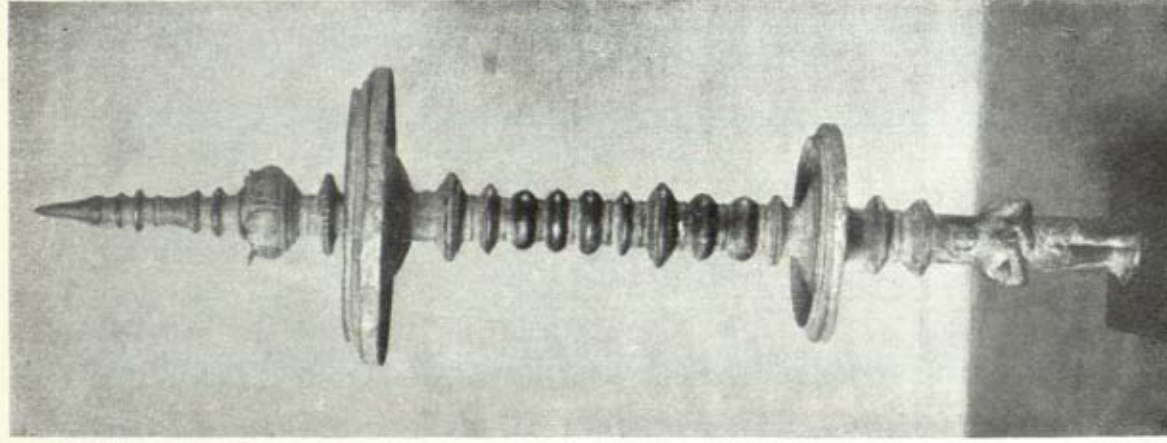
4b. Detail from Fig. 4a.



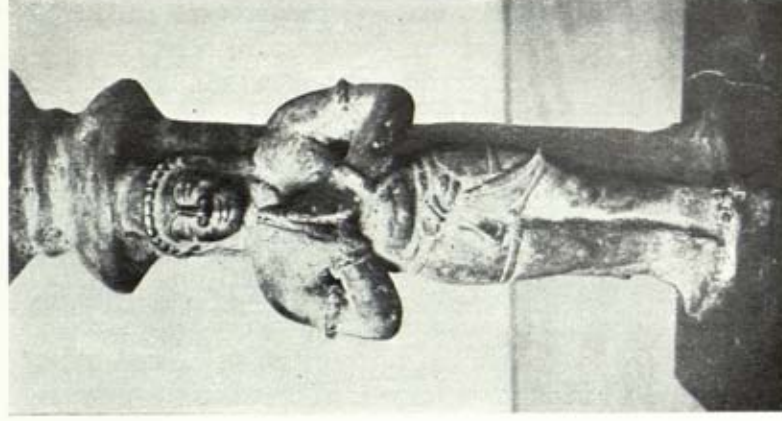
5a. Circular tripod. Kollur. Early 14th cent. A.D. Ht. 28 cms.
Dia. of the ring 33.5 cms.



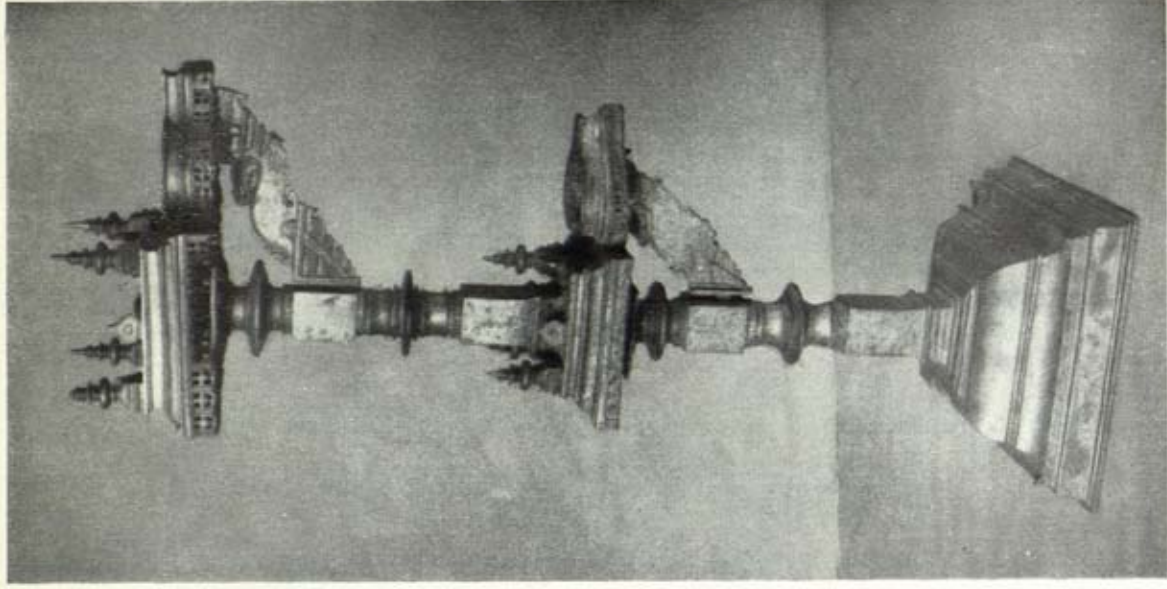
5b. Circular tripod. Kollur. Early 14th cent. A.D. Ht. 18 cms.
Dia. of the ring 29.2 cms.



6a. Lamp, Kollur, Early 14th cent. A.D. Ht. 84 cms.



6b. Detail from Fig. 6a.



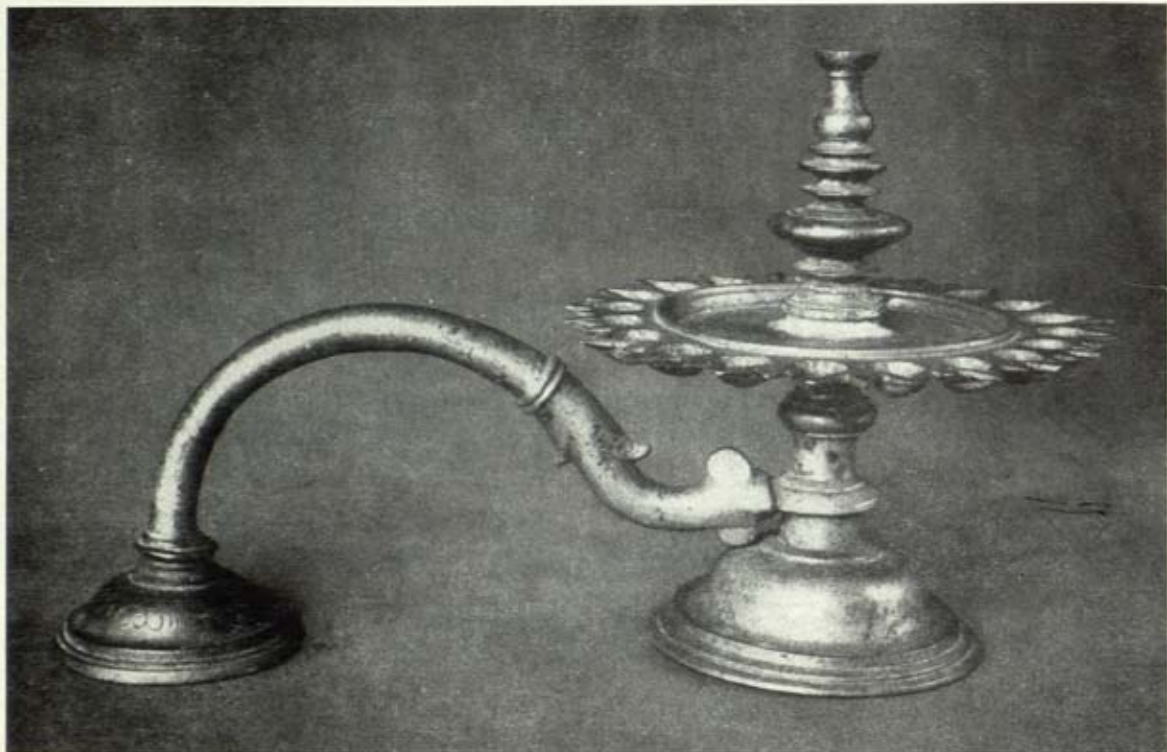
6c. Lamp, Kollur, Early 14th cent. A.D. Ht. 76 cms.



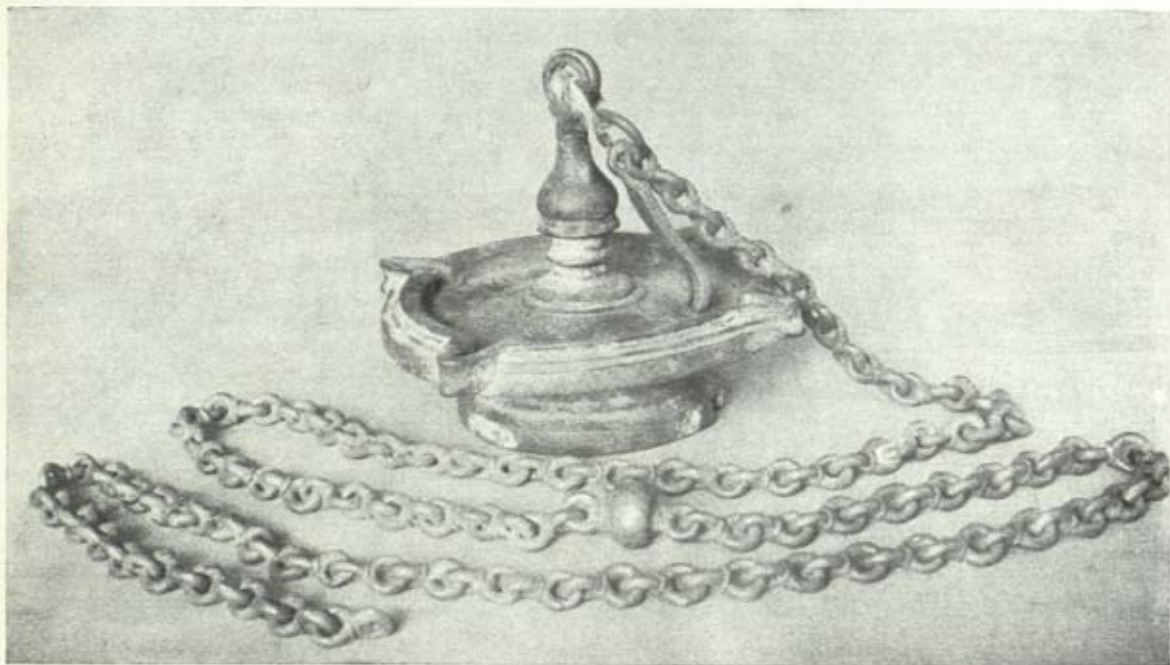
7a. Lamp (*Ārati*). Kollur, Early 14th cent. A.D. Ht. 11 cms.



7b. Reverse of Fig. 7a.



8a. Lamp (*Ārati*). Kollur. Early 14th cent. A.D. Ht. 20 cms.



8b. Chain lamp. Kollur. Early 14th cent. A.D. Ht. 14 cms. length of the chain 220 cms.



9a. Lamp, Kollur, Early 14th cent. A.D.
Ht. 14.8 cms.



9b. Bell, Kollur, Early 14th cent. A.D.
Ht. 31.8 cms.



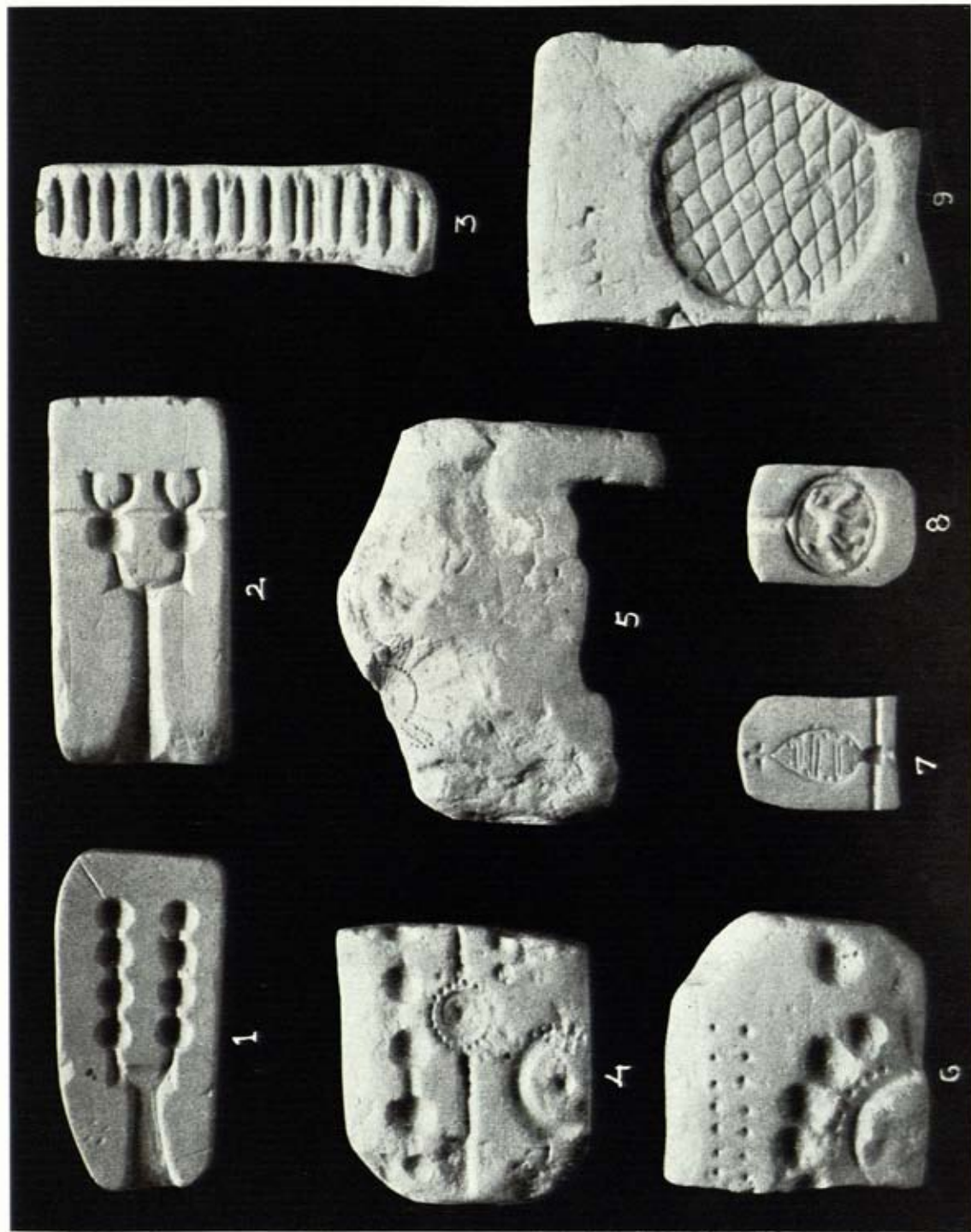
9c. Incense burner, Kollur, Early 14th cent. A.D. Ht. 24.6 cms.



10a. Flower Stand. Kollur. Early 14th cent. A.D.
Ht. 23.6 cms.



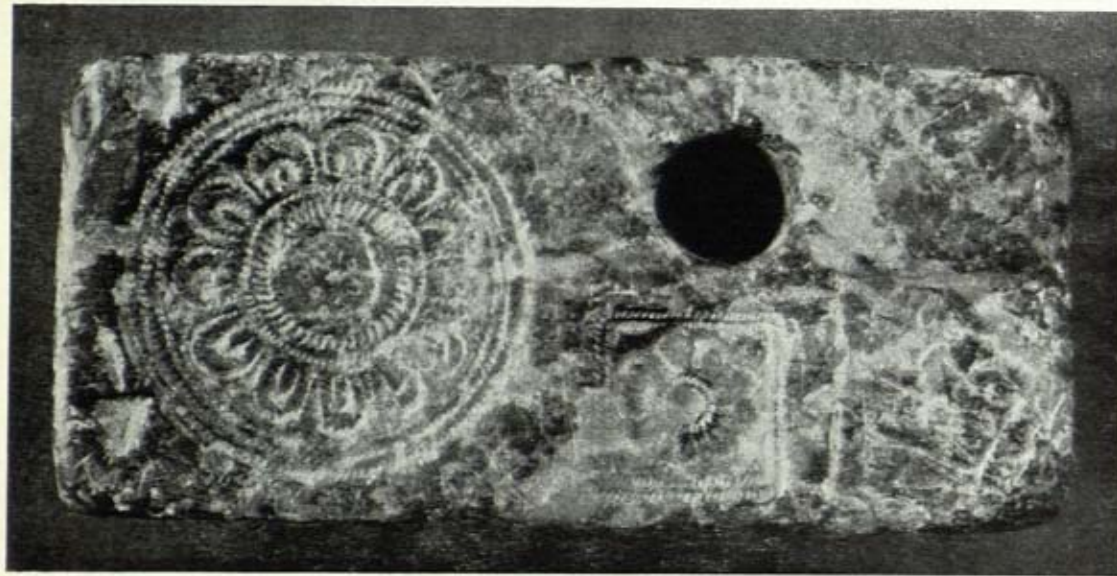
10b. Flower tray. Kollur. Early 14th cent. A.D. Ht. 12 cms. Dia. 36 cms.



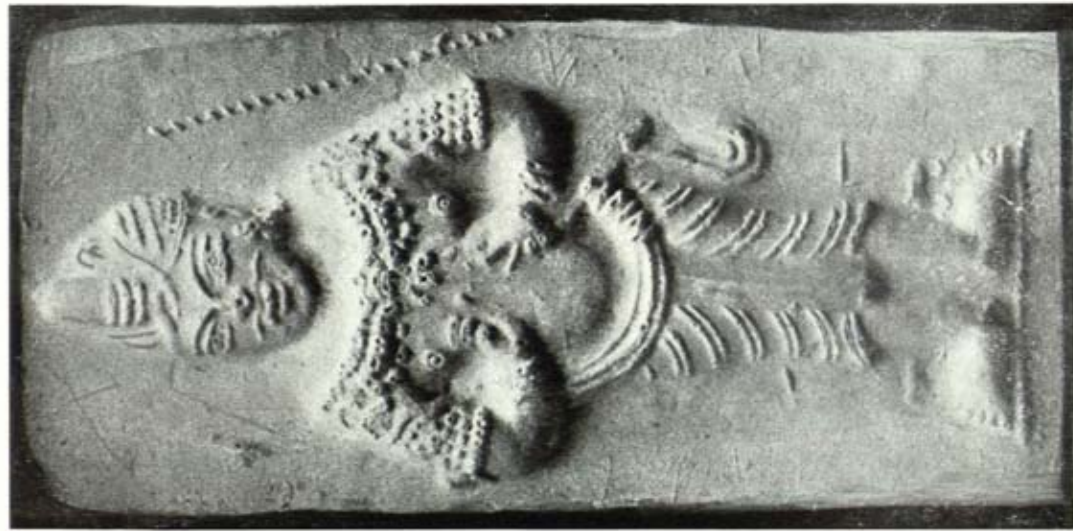
II. Steatite moulds from Sankisa and Kausambi. 2nd or 1st cent. B.C. British Museum, London.



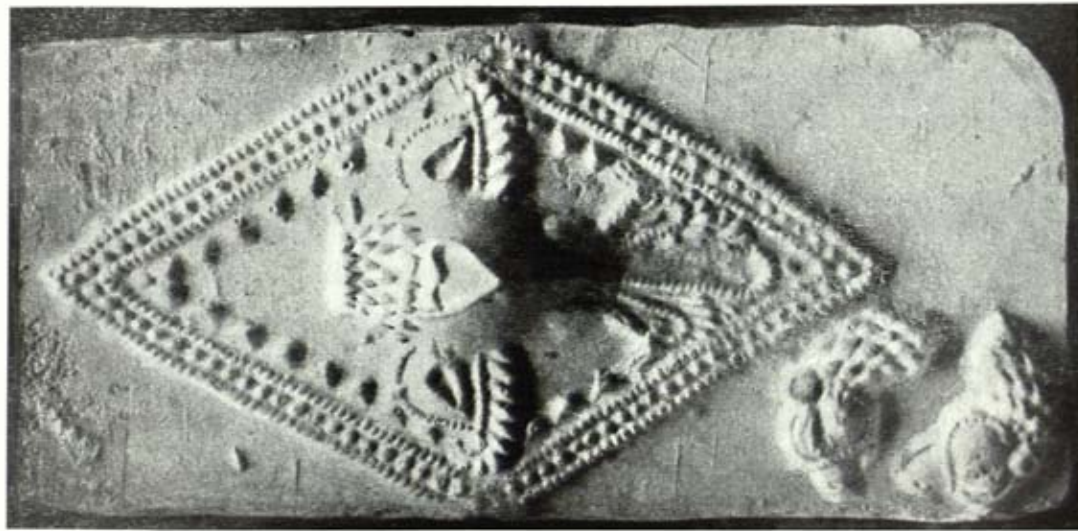
12a. Jeweller's mould. Granite. Kousambi (?).
2nd cent. A.D. 14.3 × 6.7 × 6.6 cms. Gift of
Mrs. W. Vost.



12b. Another side of the mould at Fig. 12a.



13a. Cast of Yaksha from jeweller's mould at Fig. 12a.



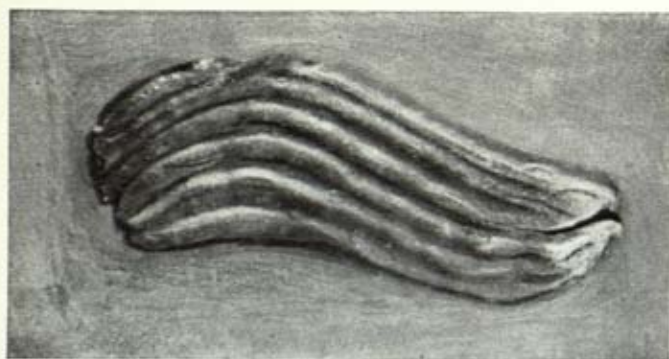
13b. Cast of Rhomboid with a double-headed eagle from jeweller's mould at Fig. 12a.



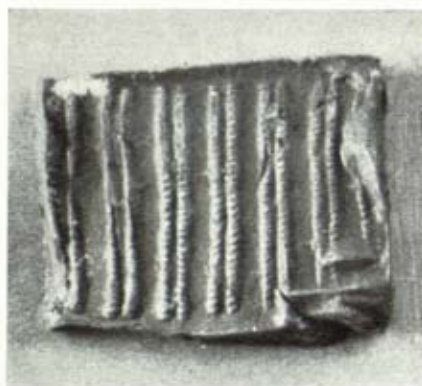
14a. Cast of rosette from jeweller's mould at fig. 12a.



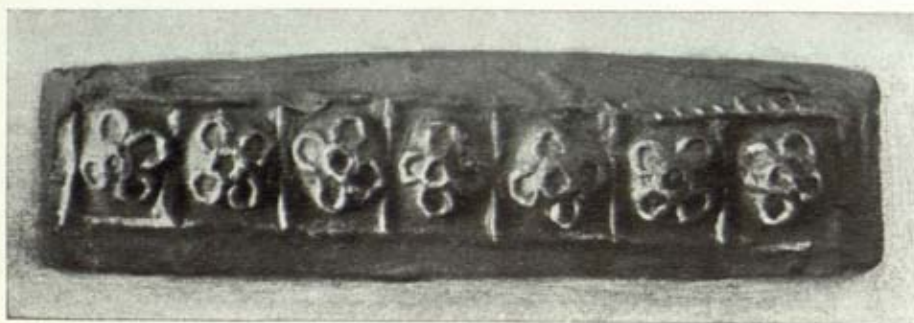
14b. Cast of a rhomboidal pattern from jeweller's mould at Fig. 12a.



14c. Cast of a wing-like pattern from jeweller's mould at Fig. 12a.



14d. Cast of parallel lines from jeweller's mould at Fig. 12a.



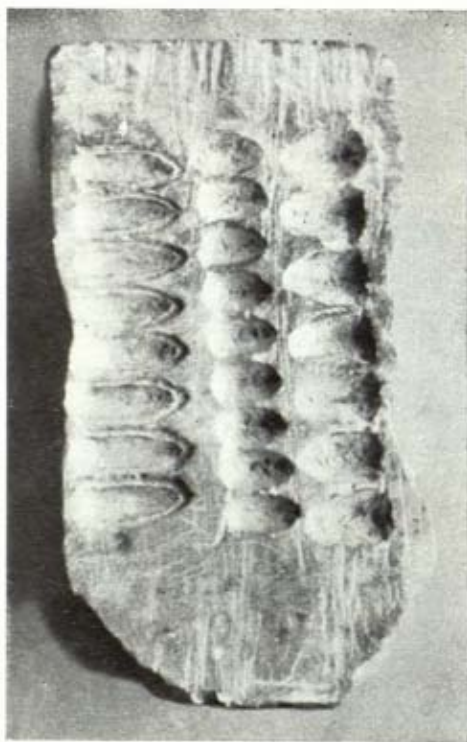
14e. Cast of Four petalled flowers from jeweller's mould at Fig. 12a.



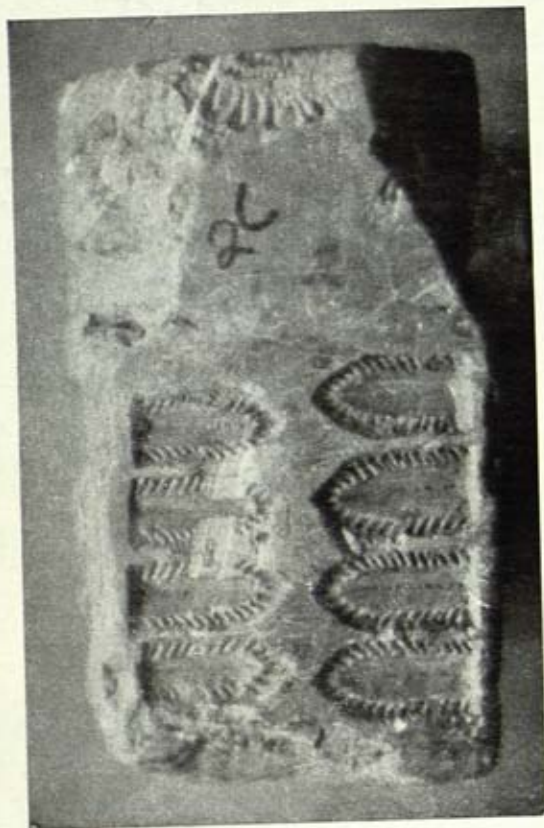
15a. Mould with Sri Lakshmi and a woman riding a lion. Stone. 1st-2nd cent. A.D. Museum of Sanskrit University, Varanasi.



15b. Another side of the mould at Fig. 15a with a rosette.



15c. Another side of the mould at Fig. 15a with three courses of lotus petals.



16a. Another side of the mould at Fig. 15a, with two courses of lotus petals.



16b. Another side of the mould at Fig. 15a with a crescent and a dot.



16c. Lakshmi (?) Gold. Sultan Ganj (Bihar).



16d. Reverse of Fig. 16c
4th-5th cent. A.D.



17a. Yaksha. Gold. **17b.** Reverse of Vaisali. 4th-5th cent. Fig. 17a A.D. Ht. 6 cms.



17c. Humped bulls. Gold. Vaisali. 4th-5th cent. A.D.



17d. Reverse of Fig. 17c.



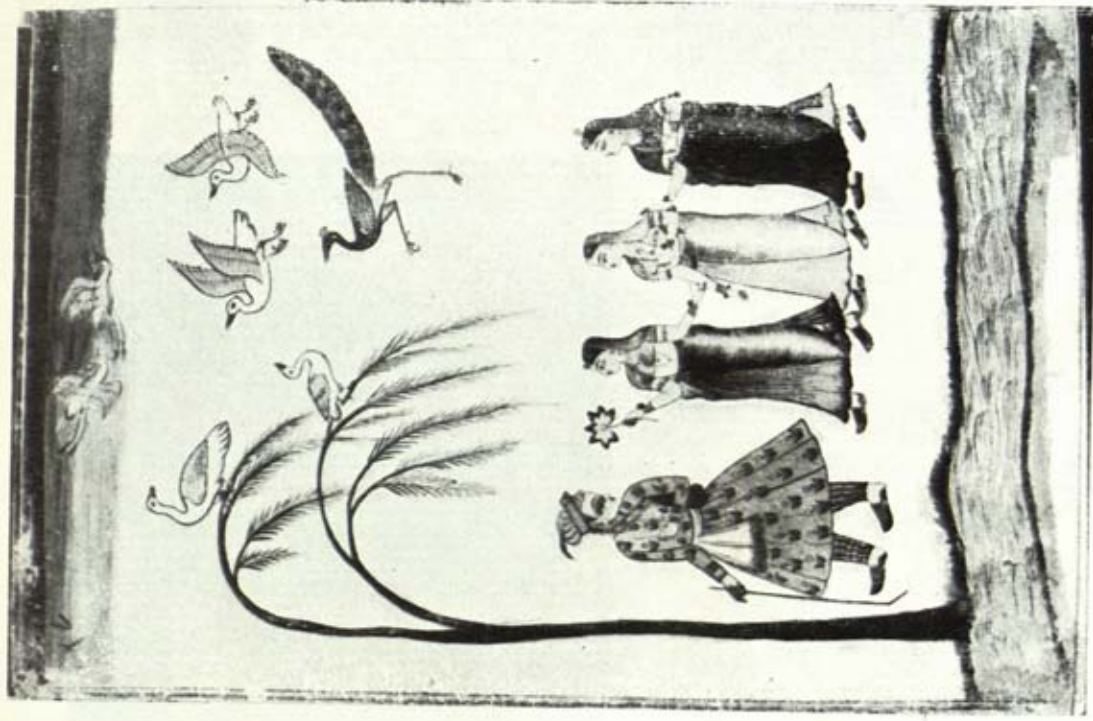
17e. Ear-rings. Gold. Vaisali. 4th-5th cent. A.D.



17f. Ear-rings. Gold. Vaisali. 4th-5th cent. A.D.



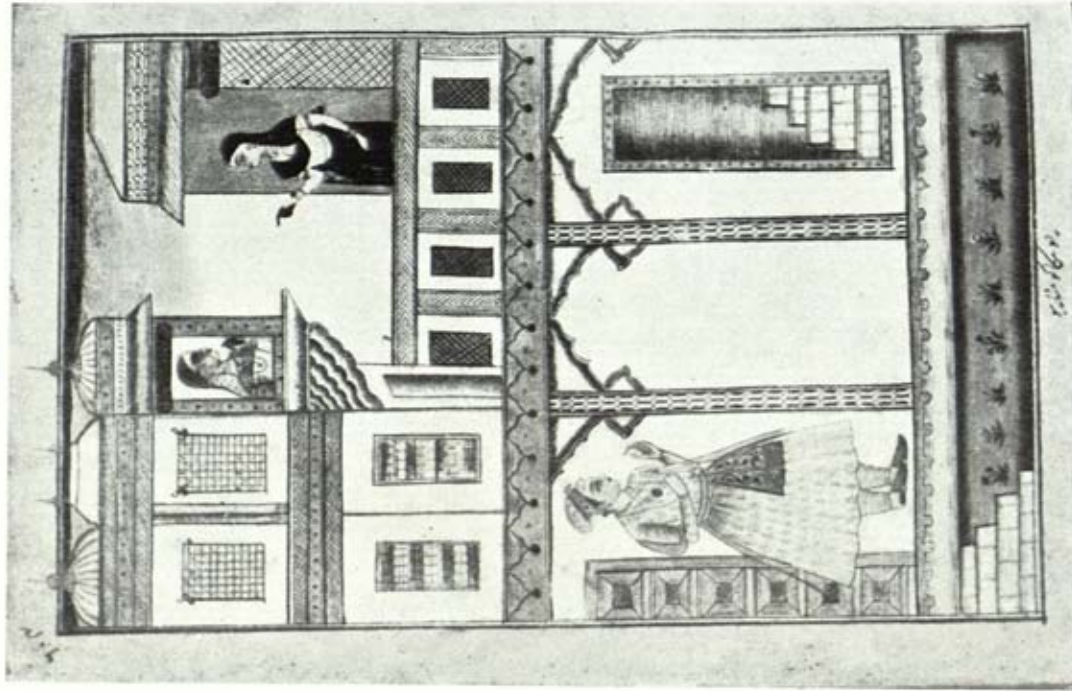
17g. Ear-rings. Gold. Vaisali. 4th-5th cent. A.D.



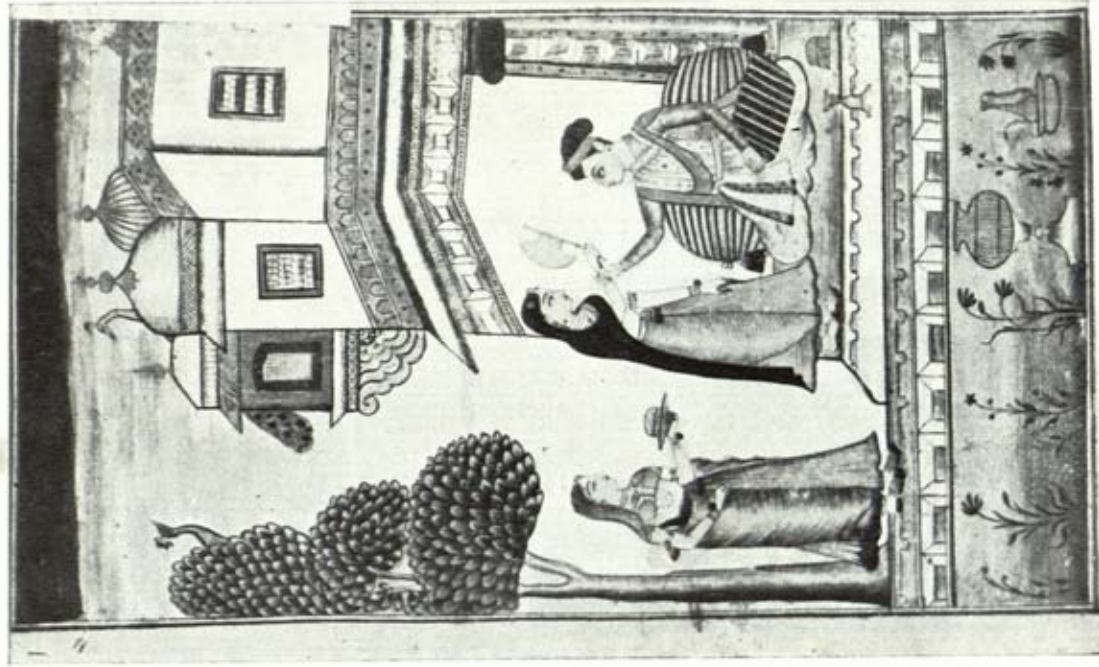
18a. Meeting of the lovers. *Rasikapriyā*. Gorakhpur (U.P.) c. 1666 A.D. Christ Church College, Cambridge.



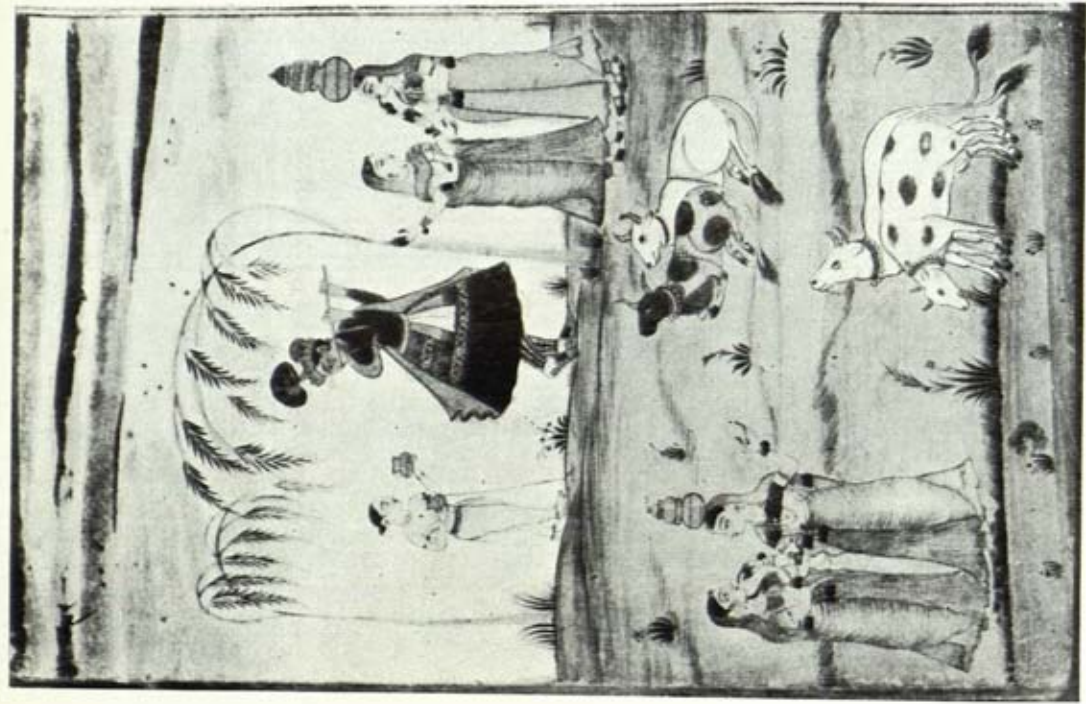
18b. Rādhā's secret gestures (*prachhanna cheshṭā*). *Rasikapriyā*. Gorakhpur (U.P.) c. 1666 A.D. Christ Church College, Cambridge.



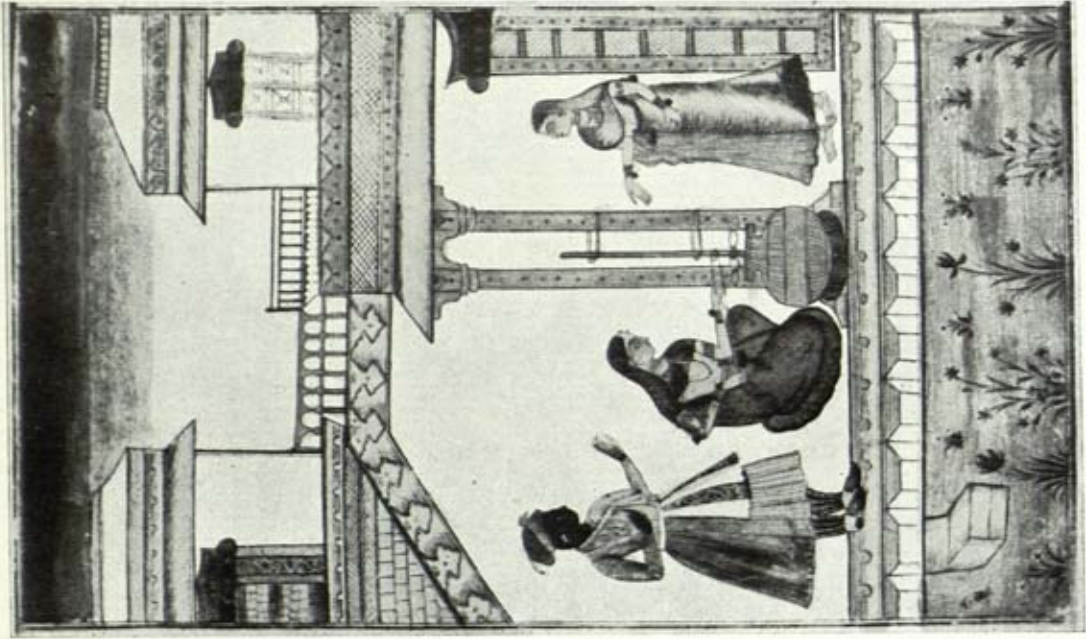
19a. Reconciliation of Rādhā (*Rādhikā ko manāyibō*).
Rasikapriyā. Gorakhpur (U.P.) C. 1666 A.D.
 Christ Church College, Cambridge.



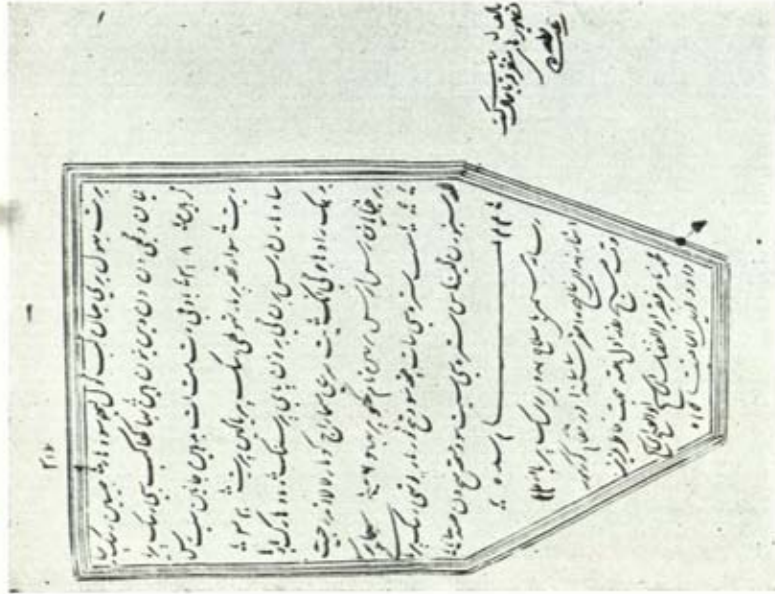
19b. The hero in a loving mood *Rasikapriyā*. Gorakhpur
 (U.P.) c. 1666 A.D. Christ Church College, Cambridge.



20a. Krishna playing on a flute. *Rasikapriyā*. Gorakhpur (U.P.) c. 1666 A.D. Christ Church College, Cambridge.



20b. Churning of the curd. *Rasikapriyā*. Gorakhpur (U.P.) c. 1666 A.D. Christ Church College, Cambridge.



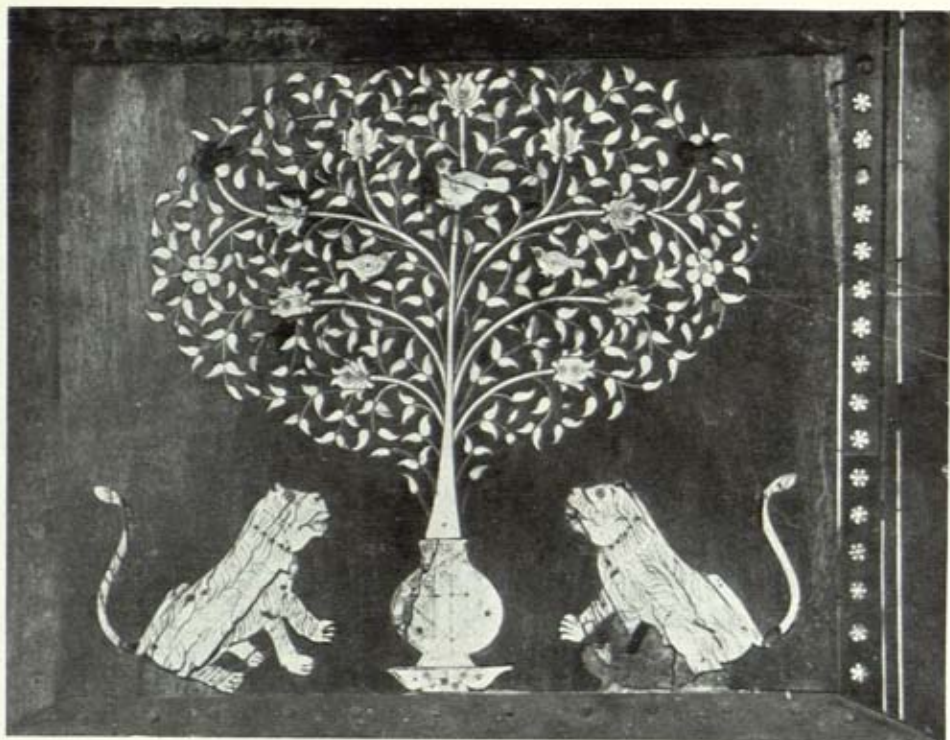
21a. Colophon of *Rasikaprīyā* Ms. Gorakhpur. (U.P.) c. 1666 A.D. Christ Church College, Cambridge.



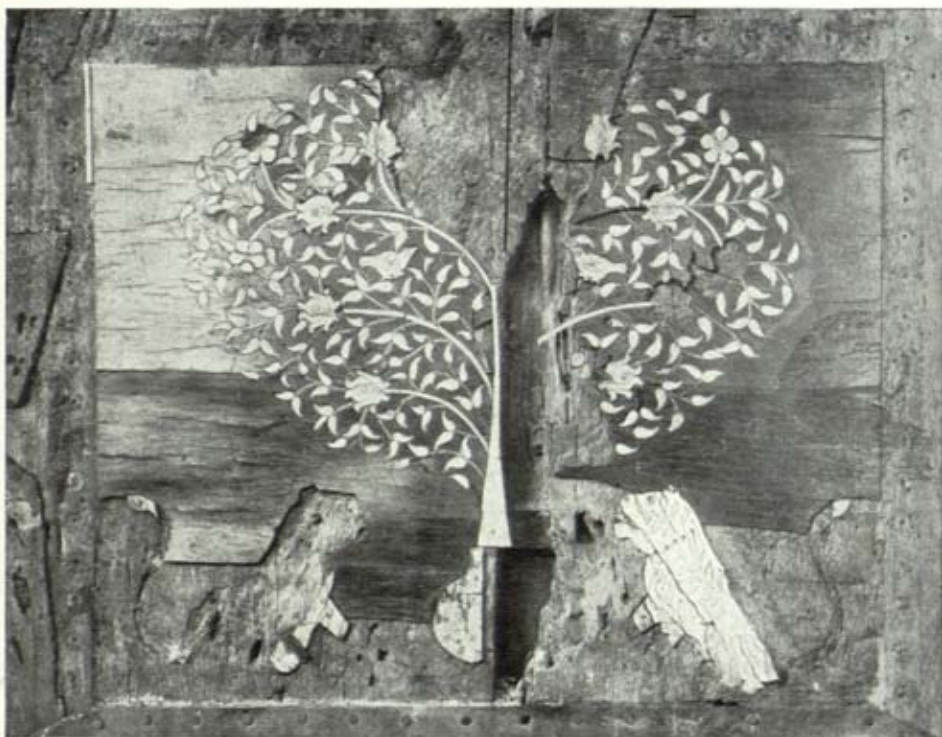
21b. Terracotta mould with a toilet scene, 2nd-3rd cent. A.D. $5.3 \times 5.7 \times 1.4$ cms.



21c. Cast from mould at Fig. 21b.



22a. A flowering tree with a tiger on either side. Indo-Portuguese writing cabinet. 17th century A.D. 36.8 × 32 cms.



22b. A flowering tree with a tiger on either side. Indo-Portuguese writing cabinet. 17th century A.D. 36.8 × 32 cms.



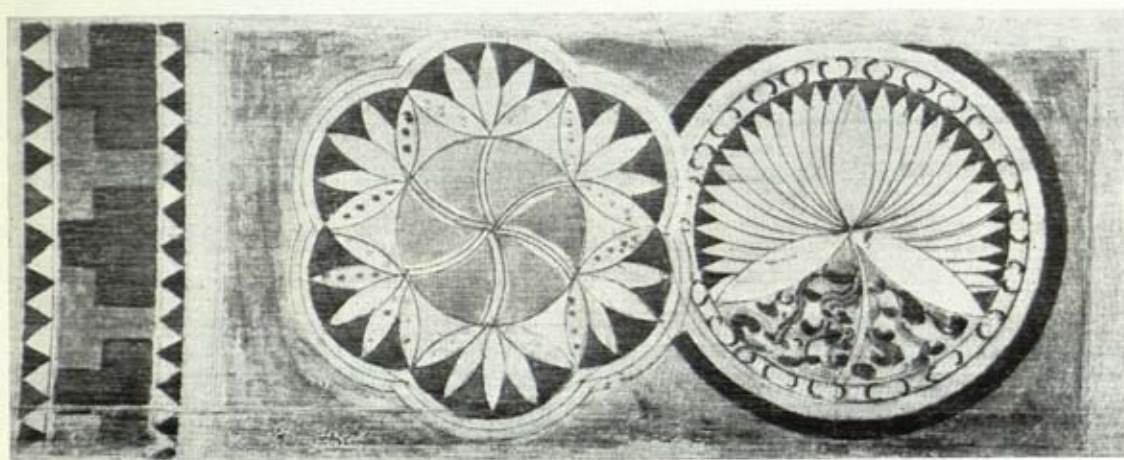
23a. Two angels and three flowering trees. Indo-Portuguese writing cabinet. 17th century A.D. 46.5 × 27.8 cms.



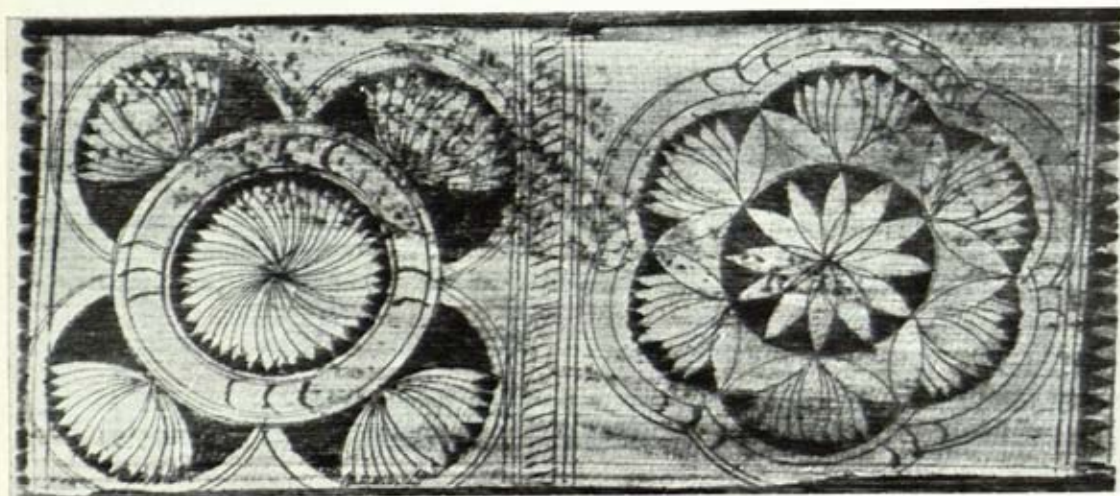
23b. Drawers of the Indo-Portuguese writing cabinet. 17th century A.D. 46.8 × 28.5 cms.



24a. Floriated scroll. *Mahābandha*. Mūdbidri. Early 12th century A.D. 72.5 × 7 cms.



24b. Two interlinked circles. *Kashāyapāhuḍa*. Mūdbidri. Early 12th century A.D. 68.5 × 7 cms.



24c. Circles and interlinked lunates with blossoming lotus flowers. *Kashāyapāhuḍa*. Mūdbidri. Early 12th century A.D. 68.5 × 7 cms.



25a. Bahubali. *Kashāyapāhuḍa*. Mūdbidri. Early 12th century A.D. 68.5 × 7 cms.



25b. Seated Jina on a lion throne. *Shaṭakhaṇḍāgama*. Mūdbidri. c. 1113 A.D. 75 × 6 cms.



25c. Pārśvanātha, Padmāvatī and Dharaṇendra. *Kashāyapāhuḍa*. Mūdbidri. Early 12th century A.D. 75 × 6 cms.



26a. Four armed seated goddess, *Mahābandha*, Mūdbidri. Early 12th century A.D. 72.5 × 7 cms.



26b. Sarasvati, *Mahābandha*, Mūdbidri. Early 12th century A.D. 72.5 × 7 cms.



26c. Sarasvati, *Mahābandha*, Mūdbidri. Early 12th century A.D. 72.5 × 7 cms.



27a. Enthroned goddess with a female *chauri*-bearer on either side. *Kashāyapāhuḍa*. Mūdbidri. Early 12th century A.D. 68.5 × 7 cms.



27b. Unidentified goddess with a female *chauri*-bearer on either side. *Kashāyapāhuḍa*. Mūdbidri. Early 12th century A.D. 68.5 × 7 cms.



27c. Ambikā with her son on either side. *Kashāyapāhuḍa*, Mūdbidri. Early 12th century A.D. 68.5 × 7 cms.



28a. Ambikā with her son on either side. *Kashāyapāhuḍa*. Mūdbidri. Early 12th century A.D. 68.5 × 7 cms.



28b. Sarvaṇa Yaksha(?) with a couchant elephant. *Kashāyapāhuḍa*. Mūdbidri. Early 12th century A.D. 68.5 × 7 cms.



28c. Three donors. *Shatākhaṇḍāgama*. Mūdbidri. c. 1113 A.D. 75 × 6 cms.



29a. Unidentified Yaksha. *Mahābandha*. Mūdbidri. Early 12th century A.D. 72.5 × 7 cms.



29b. *Makara* ornament on the door of Jaina temple, Paṭṭadakal. 8th cent. A.D.



29c. Sarasvati from her temple at Gadag. 12th century A.D.

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